

Volume 20, Number 1

January 1993

CONTRIBUTIONS TO NEPALESE STUDIES



**Journal of
Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies
Tribhuvan University
Kirtipur, Nepal**

CNAS

Editorial Board

Chief Editor: D.P. Bhandari
Managing Editor: Nirmal M. Tuladhar
Editors: Dhanavajra Vajracharya
Dilli Ram Dahal
Editors: Dhruba Kumar
Drone P. Rajaure
Stephen L. Mikesell
Editorial Assistant: Damini Vaidya

Editorial Policy

Contributions to Nepalese Studies publishes articles on Nepal focussed on the following areas:

art and archaeology, history, historical-cultural forms; religion; folk studies,

social structure, national integration, ethnic studies, population dynamics, institutional processes, development processes, applied linguistics and sociolinguistic studies;

study of man, environment, development and geo-political setting of the Indus-Brahmaputra regions.

Papers, review articles and short reviews of new books on Nepal are welcome from both Nepali and foreign contributors. Articles should be original and written in English or Nepali.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to edit, moderate or reject the articles submitted.

The published articles are remunerated, but Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies retains the copyright on all articles published. Contributors will be given a copy of the journal and fifteen copies of offprints.

Opinions expressed in the articles or reviews are the authors' own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the publisher or the Editorial Board.

Subscriptions

Contributions to Nepalese Studies is published two times a year in January and July. Subscription rates are subject to change without prior notice. Subscriptions should be sent in the form of bank drafts or cross-cheques in favour of Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies for Contributions to Nepalese Studies to the Nepal Bank Limited, Kirtipur. Rates are as follows:

Subscription Rates			
Country Countries	Nepal	India	Other
Single copy	Rs. 100/-	I.C. Rs. 75/-	US\$ 10.00
One year	Rs. 180/-	I.C. Rs. 140/-	US\$ 20.00
Note: Air-mail postage is included.			

का.प्र.जि.का.अ.का.प.द.नं. ३२-०३०

Contents

	Page
1. Speaking of Dissent, Speaking of Consent: Ritual and Resistance Among High-Caste Hindu Women in Kathmandu <i>Julia J. Thompson</i>	1-27
2. The Nepalese State and Gorakhnathi Yogis: The Case of the Former Kingdoms of Dang Valley: 18-19th Centuries <i>Véronique Bouillier</i>	29-52
3. Two Notes on Malla Currencies <i>Bernhard Kölver</i>	53-59
4. Children and Mothers at Risk for Diarrheal Disease in Nepal <i>Sandra L. Laston</i> <i>Debra A. Schumann</i> <i>Robert E. Black</i> <i>Dilli R. Dahal</i>	61-75
5. The Relative Effectiveness of Formal and Informal Exposure in ESL Development <i>Yener Gülmez</i> <i>Tej B. Shrestha</i>	77-90
6. The Maithili Consonants <i>Sunil Kumar Jha</i>	91-103
7. Nepalese Indigenous Labour Relations <i>Jana Fortier</i>	105-118
8. डोटी जिल्लाका पाँच ताम्रपत्र <i>राजाराम सुवेदी</i>	119-129
9. Solid Waste Pollution Versus Sustainable Development in High Mountain Environment: A Case Study of Sagarmatha National Park of Khumbu Region, Nepal <i>Khadga Basnet</i>	131-139
Book Review	
Bernard Pignède: <i>The Gurungs: A Himalayan Population of Nepal</i> <i>Prayag Raj Sharma</i>	141-144
Adrian Sever: <i>Nepal Under the Ranas</i> <i>Ananda P. Shrestha</i>	145-148

SPEAKING OF DISSENT, SPEAKING OF CONSENT: RITUAL AND RESISTANCE AMONG HIGH-CASTE HINDU WOMEN IN KATHMANDU¹

Julia J. Thompson

Department of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
CNAS, Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

Introduction

After centuries of cultural and geographical isolation, Nepal is currently undergoing rapid social change. The impact on Nepal of radical worldwide changes in transportation, information and global cultural flows of people and things (Appadurai 1990) has accelerated with the transition from absolute monarchy to parliamentary democracy that began in 1990. These changes are transforming the conservative Hindu traditions which previously regulated society. In urban centers, women are among the first to experience new modes of gender, morality, and power resulting from these influences.

Despite these changes many high-caste Hindu, or Brahmin and Chhetri² women in Kathmandu appear to lead traditional lives. They still smear red powder (*sindur*) in their hair parting to signify that they are married as their foremothers have done for generations. They wear the confining and expensive saris which demonstrate their adherence to Hindu models of decorum and modesty. They wear traditional colored glass beads (*pote*) and delicately tinkling bangles (*churaa*) to notify others in the household of their quiet presence and of their dedication to their husbands. Brahmin and Chhetri women also embed forms of resistance in their religious activities to protest against these traditional Hindu gender models. The increasing cross-cultural literature on women and resistance demonstrates that this is not an isolated incident; similar phenomenon are occurring on a worldwide basis. For example, Bedouin women use their poetry as forms of resistance to express personal feeling that violate their moral code (Abu-Lughod 1986); female Malaysian factory workers become possessed by spirits on the shop floors of factories in response to the pressures of industrialization (Ong 1987); Somalian women become possessed by spirits to protest against male dominance (Lewis 1971); and Oriental women in Jerusalem resist the fences erected by authorities which prevent them from lighting candles on the holy

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 1993).
Copyright © 1993 CNAS/TU

ancestral tombs by throwing unlit candles through holes in the fences (Sered 1990).

In this paper, I discuss how high-caste women appear to conform to Hindu ideals through their participation in the various religious activities, but in their daily worship, weddings, fasting, and funerals they are able to express their resistance, demonstrate dissatisfactions, and in essence, not conform. As third world urban elite women, it is often assumed that these women do not possess "culture" and that culture is only truly found in villages or among the lower castes or classes. My research among middle and upper class Brahmin and Chhetri women in Kathmandu helps to address this lacunae and to challenge additional assumptions, such as the association of third world women with unchanging tradition even in the context of cultural change (Chatterjee 1989; Murphy and Murphy 1985), that tradition is static (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Lepowsky 1991), and the essentialization of third world women (Mohanty et al. 1991). Women's resistance in ritual is not the only framework which addresses these issues-nor is it the only framework within which women express dissents – but it is among the most powerful and provocative for illuminating these issues.

In Kathmandu, the amalgamation of old and new gender models is most clearly seen in high-caste women's religious lives. Women go to their lovers on the way to visit a temple. Women refuse to fast for their husbands when they feel mistreated. New brides resist the dominant Hindu symbolism embedded in their own weddings. And women use their parent's funeral rites as a form of resistance against traditional gender models and as a site for cultural critique. To understand the importance of these forms of resistance for high-caste women, I do not merely examine the specifics that prompt them to resist. I also recognize that women's resistances are diagnostic and reflective of the power relations in which these women are embedded (Abu-Lughod 1990; MacLeod 1992). In this paper, I attend to the issues of the audience for these resistances and to women's own motivations for resistance (Mahoney and Yngvesson 1992) by examining the personal and social contexts of these acts as constructed in ongoing relationships. I also explore the multiple discourses on resistance and social change by bringing to light the voices of other high-caste women, those who believe that these forms of resistance are detrimental to women's lives. As it has been described in other cultures, it is women who sometimes hold to tradition to enhance their social standing in the face of change (Grima 1992; MacLeod 1992), and adherence to tradition can itself be a type of resistance (Lepowsky 1991). This is especially true when newer models represent a reduction of traditional holds on power without providing new alternatives.

As Nepal's capital, Kathmandu incorporates both old traditions and new values. Ancient brass pagoda roofed temples are visited by people in cars with cellular phones; the virgin goddess Kumari, whom even the King worships, has access to Star TV; pilgrims come from all over South Asia to worship at the holy Hindu temple of Pashupatinath and gamble in the local casino; and the Buddhist shrine of Boudhanath is transfer into the site for a Bernardo Bertolucci film with thousands of extras swarming beneath its holy eyes. People come from all over the world to Nepal, including expert mountain climbers tackling Sagarmatha, the highest peak in the world, or Kailash, the abode of the deities; students come to learn Buddhism from resident Rimpoches; hikers to trek in the lovely valleys of the Himalayas; development workers, and researcher like myself. Often the old and the new compete with each other for prominence with traditional ways being thrown aside for the thrill and glamour of what is foreign, new, and deemed more desirable. Sometimes the old is held to tenaciously, even violently, and the rise in public assaults against women ("eve-teasing"), the public cutting of the long hair of young men by the police, and the increasing number of bride burning related to dowry attests to this.

In some ways, I am also representative of many of these competing discourses. I came to Nepal as a young unmarried American university student to do my Ph.D. field research, met American a resident American diplomat working in Kathmandu, and married him here. My social standing helps my rapport with women in many ways; as wife of a diplomat, I am seen as representative of traditional gender models, but I am also associated with the newer models as a career woman with no children, who has her own independent interests, her own salary, freedom, and mobility. In various guises, I move in and out of these different worlds, being able to appeal to women's sensitivities across domains. As a married woman, I have access to information which was previously hidden from me as a single woman. As a foreigner, it is also recognized that I have access to a world beyond Kathmadu in a way many women in Kathmandu do not. High-caste women here also move between cultures and our discussions which often move from Nepali into English and back into Nepali demonstrate this.

Gender Models and Hindu Ritual

Traditional high- caste hindu ideals for women are described by Bennett (1976, 1981, 1983), Gray (1982, 1989, 1991), and Kondos (1989, 1991) in their research among villagers in the Kathmandu Valley. These ideals dictate that Hindu women must be shy, patient, good, sequestered, devoted, faithful, restrained, and as the oft quoted book of *Manu* states, women must always be protected by a man, be it her father, husband or son. There are choices any

high-caste woman must make in her daily life regarding these ideals; choices between obedience and defiance, duty and self-indulgence, harmony and contentiousness, the good of the joint family and the good of oneself, between purity and pollution, between strict observance of *dharma* and laxness, between sexual restraint and indulgence, and between being faithful wife and an unfaithful one (Bennett 1983:313). These models demarcate the range of possible behaviors for a woman, attributing a specific morality to both her and her behavior. In a cyclic fashion, this morality in turn relates back to a woman's *dharma* or duty. As Bennett writes, high-caste Hindus,

tend to speak of *dharma* in terms of action, as something one *does* (or at least should do), rather than something one believes in. In Nepali usage the word *dharma* encompasses the performance on specified rites and ceremonies, and obedience to ritual prescriptions appropriate to one's place in the social structure, as well as general ethical behavior covering individual actions of compassion, honesty, etc.... *Dharma* is *duty*, compelling because it is conceived to be grounded in the nature of reality (1983:34-35; original emphasis).

Household relations are the most important feature in defining high-caste women's lives. It is the main site within which a woman's *dharma* and her resistance to this *dharma* are expressed. For these women *dharma* is the link between gender models, religion, household relations, and the wider social world. Women say that even if they do not have a strong faith, it is their *dharma* to perform rituals and religious activities for the benefit of the whole household.

Kondos delineates the different structural restraints within high-caste Hindu Nepalese households and the various legal and social consequences of these structures for women (1989). There are six different ways high-caste women can "manoeuvre around and between the rules" that constrain and subjugate them according to Kondos. These include chicanery, suicide, returning to their parent's home (*maiti*), elopement, divorce or separation, and becoming economically independent (1989:182-184). Except perhaps for chicanery, these are drastic measures that require a woman to leave her husband's home and as a result suffer harsh social and cultural consequences. But what about the high-caste woman who wants to remain within her home and still somehow maneuver around these restraints? Religion is one forum in which a woman can resist these restraints and still remain within the bounds of cultural acceptance. Performing rituals is an important activity and women often have leeway within the structure of rituals, which they may not have in other realms of life, to use ritual for their own purposes.

Women's resistance within ritual arises not only in response to the constraints *dharma* imposes, but also as a result of the dissonance created with the introduction of other newer gender models. It has been documented in many cultures that exposure to media images and western goods influences emulation of these new ideas and attitudes (i.e., Appadurai 1990). This is also true among high-caste women in Kathmandu. Women do want to embrace some of the new models to which these images speak. They do not necessarily want to be the women on the American soap opera "The Bold and the Beautiful," which is daily watched in Kathmandu on STAR TV but they do admire the representations of relative freedom, independence, and women's relationships with men on this show. High-caste women want both the old and the new, and the impact of these newer models on traditional gender ideals should not be underestimated. It is precisely at the confluence of the older gender models with the newer ones that women's forms of resistance emerge.

Definitions of Resistance

Although in this paper I focus on resistance within ritual, resistance in Kathmandu also exists in other forms, such as public demonstrations or in the publication of radical periodicals. I do not presuppose any easy definitions of resistance. As Abu-Lughod suggests, we tend to over-romanticize resistance (1990), to view these acts and their implications through our own cultural lens. As a result, in academic writings, the concept is often not defined, not defined consistently across works, and sometimes defined so exclusively that almost nothing qualifies as resistance.

At one extreme of this confusion are the debates about definitions of resistance during the Nazi era. Participants at a symposium on the Nazi resistance movements were troubled by the wide range of activities and attitudes termed resistance in this context; they wanted to distinguish resistance from other concepts such as "nonconformity," "intentional challenge," "protest," or "refusal." They wanted to define something as resistance only if it made a public impact and posed a "basic challenge to the regime." As a result, the participants decided that there was "an astonishing variety of types of 'nonconformist behavior' in Germany between 1933 and 1945 but little full-scale 'resistance' (Craig 1992:39-41)." Unfortunately, I believe that this approach reifies the definition of resistance and does not validate or acknowledge the cultural circumstances under which people act.

Other writers envision resistance as an individual response to particular situations either momentarily or over the course of a life (i.e., Abu-Lughod 1990; Okely 1991). In between these extremes are those who see resistance as an interplay between the public and private, the overt and covert, the

personal and the social. Scott conceives of resistance as divided into public and hidden transcripts whose analysis helps us to understand relations between the powerless and the powerful (1990); Comaroff sees resistance as an interplay between subordinate and dominant powers where the subordinate both "acquiesce yet protest, reproduce yet seek to transform their predicament" (1985:1); and Radner and Lanser argue that more private displays of resistance by women can be implicitly and explicitly "coded" as a means to protect women from retaliation, because the scope for women's resistance is often limited by the cultural contexts (1993).

In order not to detract from or undervalue the difficulty of carrying out such activities, I define resistance broadly using the term to mean that which withstands the actions or effects of others, or a force (be it physical or the force of will) that opposes another. As a result of my research, and because of shifting social contexts (historically, culturally, and geographically), I have found that self-definitions of resistance are the most important to consider. Whether organized or personal, unaware or aware, high-caste women in Kathmandu imbue their acts with meaning and intentionality. This includes what others might term protest, defiance, and nonconformity. Resistance can be large or small, organized or spontaneous. It may have a small or large audience of both observers and participants. It can be well thought through, or the performer may have a small or large audience of both observers and participants. It can be well thought through, or the performer may be unaware of the wider social implications of her actions. In order to understand high-caste women's definitions of resistance and their understandings of the effects of their actions, I begin here with a discussion of Nepali words for different types of resistance and then continue with examples of women's resistances taken from my own research.

In Nepali, the range of words to describe different types of resistance also includes protest, defiance, and nonconformity. People speak of *satyagraha*, *shaan dekhaaunu*, *Pratikaar*, *birodh*, and *pratirodh*. The stories I tell below on high-caste women's religious resistances demonstrate the range of activities which can be defined as resistance and the limits of each type in transforming a woman's situation.

Satyagraha is passive resistance of the type Gandhi favored in British India. It can be a large organized hunger strike, such as those supporting labor reforms. Satyagraha also applies to situations when a woman refuses to eat, drink, or even talk for extended periods as a means of exerting pressure on others within her household when she has no other alternatives available to her. For a woman this is a very personal form of resistance and not usually related to situations beyond her own household.

When a woman wants to demonstrate her superiority over her husband and refuses to fulfill her wifely duties to him by not cooking his meals, caring for his children or attending to the other duties ascribed by her household situation, she is considered to be *shaan dekhaaune* or to be showing her pride. This occurs when she feels that she is not accorded the proper ranking within her household based on age and gender hierarchies. A woman may be *shaan dekhaaune* when she feels that she has married beneath her social standing in reference to her family background, which is sometimes signified by a large dowry (*daijo*). The audience for a *shaan dekhaaune* woman can include both her husband's household and her *maiti*. When a woman refuses to cook, for example, this will be known not only in her husband's household but also in her relatives' houses too. *Shaan dekhaaune* has a negative connotation; women tell me they know of other *shaan dekhaaune* women, usually unrelated to them, but most claim they themselves have never knowingly engaged in these types of activities.

Pratikaar is defiance. Some of the smaller acts of resistance a woman might engage in, such as going to have tea with friends instead of going to a temple or even more serious acts such as refusing to fast for one's husband, are considered *pratikaar*. For women, these acts are generally more socially conscious than *satyaagraha* or *shaan dekhaaune*, and are based on action—while *satyaagraha* and *shann dekhaaune* are ultimately based on the lack of action. *Pratikaar* has an audience which extends beyond the household and can include friends, neighbours, and those in unrelated households.

Opposition, resistance, or hostility is termed *birodh*. *Birodh* is stronger than *pratikaar* and is usually applied to types of resistance that are somewhat public and self aware. Those who perform *birodh* have some hope of the possibility of transforming society even if only on a small scale. Anju,³ Whose partial life story I provide later, defines her own resistance against her in-laws and parents in terms of *Birodh* when she chose her own husband. Anju was aware of what she was doing, and her goal in this *birodh* was to bring about changes so her life would hopefully not be constrained or defined by traditional gender models.

Pratirodh is an opposition or resistance that usually involves a number of people united for a common cause such as that seen during the movement to restore democracy where thousand of people took to the streets, or when two thousand women marched in Kathmandu in December, 1992, to demand women's rights and protest against the recent wave of sexual assaults (Sowerwine 1993). *Pratirodh* is meant to bring radical change and requires organization and participation by others.

Besides these large scale political protests, most of the forms of resistance I have witnessed in Kathmandu are embedded within women's religious

activities and are used to protest against their personal life situations. High-caste women gain latitude and are able to resist constraints in their lives by manipulating ritual structures to their own advantages. Many women have lives which are physically restricted in accordance with ideals of modesty, seclusion and women's honor. They are not normally allowed to go outside their houses or compounds without good reason. One way to meet friends, which is often only rarely allowed, is to have the good reason of visiting a temple to get *darshan* (to see and be seen by the deity) on the day of the week associated with that deity or to do a special ritual. Of course, these trips are very rarely made by women alone, and the trip is more socially acceptable if a woman has the appropriate companions—which means other women—providing the guise for socializing with friends which would not normally be permitted. The women do worship once they reach the temple, but the stronger motivation for many of these outings is wanting to be with friends.

Maya

Maya is an outgoing and lively middle class woman. Because she works outside her home she enjoys more relative freedom to go out alone than many other high-caste women. As Kondos notes, becoming economically independent is one way a high-caste woman may maneuver around some of the constraints in her life (1989:184). Maya's activities are still carefully watched by her in-laws though, and often they place phone calls to determine if Maya is where she should be. In spite of this, on Mondays on the way to the holy Hindu temple of Pashupatinath, Maya often stops to have tea with friends. On Tuesday evenings, on the way home from visiting any of the numerous temples in Kathmandu, she visits her lover, being careful to bring home a blessing from the elephant headed god *Ganesh* to prove her Pilgrimage. On some Saturdays, she hires a taxi, picks up her lover and drives out to Dashain *Kali*, an important sacrificial spot for this powerful goddess, to make offerings and to make love in the surrounding jungle. These are very covert forms of resisting, what some would term *Pratikaar*. Maya is doing things in direct opposition to what her family, and Hindu tradition, have deemed appropriate for her, but her audience is very limited: her lover, herself, and me.

In terms of motivation, Maya, believes that there is no other way to change her life or to change her circumstance, especially since she is a widow. If her in-laws discovered her desire for more freedom, freedom to have a boyfriend, to possibly remarry, to start life again, there would be serious consequences including beating and perhaps even her "accidental" death. According to Hindu ideals, a widow must never remarry. Previously, these ideals were assured through the threat and practice of *sati*, where a woman is

said to sit upon her husband's funeral pyre with his dead body cradled in her lap. Her spirit then ascends with his to the heavens upon their cremation. *Sati* is no longer practiced in Kathmandu; the last legal one occurred in 1920 or so (G. Rana n.d; Slusser 1982:232), although it is rumored that there were *satis* in Nepal's Terai region and in the Kathmandu valley recently. The belief that a woman's fidelity belongs to and is controlled by only one man, her husband, throughout her lifetime is still an important ideal. And the widespread belief that a woman becomes a goddess if she performs *sati* is attested to by the popularity of the 1987 *Sati* of Roop Kanwar in Rajasthan, India (Bumiller 1990; Datta 1988; Harlan 1991; Narasimhan 1992).⁴ Maya's behavior as a widow reflects heavily on her in-laws' honor. As a widow, they must carefully control her and her sexuality to maintain their social standing, and many families are still willing to go to great lengths to do so. As such, knowing the threat of violence exists, Maya chooses to resist in her own private but meaningful ways.

Kumari

Kumari, has been married to Krishna for many years. Kumari lives a very traditional life despite the fact that she, like Maya, also works outside the home. Their marriage is typical of many in Kathmandu in that it was arranged and they live in Krishna's house in a joint family. In keeping with the Hindu cultural ideals of masculinity, her husband's prerogatives include acting in many ways like the god Krishna. Kumari told me to use the name Krishna for her husband in my telling of this story to highlight the parallels between her husband's behavior and that of Krishna, the playful god of love. Krishna, the man, has had many girlfriends throughout their marriage, coming and going as he pleases, and spending the money Kumari earns without consulting her.

Throughout her life, Kumari has observed Tij and Rishi Panchami,⁵ two day long festivals for women which occur each year in the fall. On these days, in Kathmandu, women fast, bathe, and do special rituals at home at Pashupati, and at the confluence of holy rivers to ensure the long life and prosperity of their husbands and to purify themselves of the sins they may have accrued due to menstrual pollution over the past year. As a young women, Kumari, like many unmarried women, also went to Pashupati on Tij and celebrated Rishi Panchami in hopes of accruing enough merit so the deities would bring her a good husband.

Now that she is married, Kumari fasts for Krishna on special ritual days, such as Tij, or celebrates certain rituals for his benefit. When she does, Krishna often buys Kumari jewels, sari, gold, or other gifts to express his pleasure at her religious devotedness to his well-being. Last year, however,

while walking home from Pashupati on Tij, Kumari told me that one year she and Krishna had a large argument about his girlfriend, and in response she refused to fast for him on Tij. Despite Kumari's own religious devotedness, when faced with the mistreatment she felt she was suffering from Krishna, she decided to make a stand against him. Krishna became very angry and in reaction to Kumari's refusal to fast, he gave one of Kumari's saris to his mistress. For a man to give a woman a piece of clothing is a symbol of intimacy, and a woman will not usually accept clothing from a man with whom she is not intimate. In addition, saris are very expensive, usually costing more than a month's salary and good ones are often brought from abroad. By giving one of Kumari's saris to his girlfriend, and through her acceptance of the gift, Krishna was not only depriving Kumari of something valuable, which he himself might have even originally given her, but also signifying his intimacy with his mistress to his wife.

The next year Kumari again refused to fast for Krishna because his bad behavior continued. Kumari chose to not fast rather than the other options of silently protesting or silently enduring. As such, she widened the audience for her complaints by bringing Krishna's unacceptable behavior to the attention of others in her household using an accepted and important ritual. In this manner, Kumari was able to gain support from her in-laws because Krishna was not living up to his responsibilities as a husband, father, and son. Krishna's mother supported Kumari in her refusal to fast and later on with Kumari confronted the girlfriend to get the disputed sari returned. In telling me this story, Kumari's emphasis was on how she stood up to Krishna's behavior by using his own (and her own) religious beliefs and desires against him. By couching her resistance to Krishna's treatment of her in terms of the Tij festival and in terms of her *dharma* as a woman who should perform Tij fasts, Kumari was able to successfully make her point about his behavior without going outside the bounds of acceptable behavior and without transgressing high-caste Hindu gender ideals.

Parvati

Another example of women's resistance in ritual involves a marriage I attended. At Hindu weddings there are a series of games which the bride and groom play with each other under the wedding canopy (*Jagge*), including a dice game (*pase*), and one in which the bridal couple compete to see who can be the first to feed the other curd off a brass plate (*Mahura khuaune*), not unlike the traditional cake feeding and smashing in some western wedding traditions. Many women say that the winner of these games will determine the sex of the couple's first child—if the groom wins their child will be a girl, if the bride wins then the child will be a boy. In addition, women say that

these games are about relations of power and dominance; if the bride wins, she will be the more powerful in her new relationship with her husband and be able to dominate him easily; if the groom wins then the opposite is supposed to be true. These games are also said to help familiarize the bridal couple who traditionally would probable not have met before the marriage ceremony began.

There is some contradiction here. If the bride wins then their first born child will be a boy, the social, cultural, and often personal ideal. Another ideal is also in place though: new brides are supposed to be shy and docile. The groom would lose some amount of honor in front of the wedding guests and his family if his new shy and docile wife were to play competitively and win these games. In addition weddings are frequently traumatic events for the bride; women often they tell me that they remember very little of their own weddings and because they wept so much they had to be led around through the different rituals. I have also seen grooms try to lose in such a manner that reduce the appearance of the bride's competitiveness. This is a fine line though. So, even though the couple may desire a first born son, because of the potential trauma of the event, what can direct a bride's behavior at her wedding is the ideal of the shy and reticent bride while the other potential power struggle between the wife and husband gets played down.

This bride though, who at her own request I call Parvati, competed heartily with her groom in these wedding games. Parvati had what is termed an "arranged" marriage because the parents approved of the match and paid for the wedding, even though she and her husband had actually chosen and dated each other for some years.⁶ Parvati married into a high-caste elite family which had previously been quite powerful, and their wedding was an elaborate affair. She wanted to demonstrate, as she told me, not just to her new in-laws but to the guests as well, that she was not going to be submissive to her new husband. Initially when it became evident that Parvati was trying to win these wedding games, the guests were laughing along with what they interpreted to be her Joking. The issue of the couple getting to know each other was moot. The guests also assumed that the issue of the sex of their not-yet-conceived children was unimportant. What was still unsettled for everyone were the power relations after the marriage. This was also evident during the *mahura Khuaune* which turned into a small throwing match with the curd ending up all over the faces of the wedding couple. This is all very much within the realm of acceptable behavior at weddings; sometimes if the bride and groom have known each other, they make jokes during the wedding and the guests laugh and tease them in return.

Parvati intensified this theme of resisting to her submissive position in another portion of the ceremony, when the couple is finally officially married

and the bride and groom must switch seats (*thau sarne*). Initially the bride sits on the groom's right-hand side signifying her higher status as an unmarried virgin. Once married though, the bride is considered to be of lower status than the groom and must move to the groom's left hand side.⁷ When the time came for them to switch seats, Parvati refused to budge from her cushion. Indeed, initially the groom rose and asked her politely to move. She wouldn't. The guests began to laugh along with the bride. Then the groom tried to gently move Parvati to the other cushion by taking her arm as if to help her up. She still refused to be moved from her position of authority and the guests laughed louder and began to make comments about what they thought was the bride's joking. Finally, the groom tried to forcibly move Parvati by picking her up, but she made herself as heavy as possible and it took the groom several attempts before he finally dragged her to the other cushion. By this time, the crowd's laughter was mixed with disgruntled comments. Combined with the look upon the groom's face, I was led to believe that Parvati had carried her "joking" too far. By couching her desires within the marriage ceremony and by stretching the boundaries of acceptable behavior, Parvati was able to make an important statement to her own family and to her in-laws about her desire for a more equal standing with her husband.

Indira

Another Chhetri woman, Indira Rana, is a high level government official whose life and work are centered on her efforts to bring about social change beneficial to Nepalese women. At her mother's funeral (*kaaj-kriyaa*), Indira made a very public, pointed, and courageous statement about her role as a daughter and her position as a woman in Nepalese society. At Indira's wish, I have not disguised her identity because as she says, the story is true, and because the amount of publicity this incident received in the local press (i.e., *Asmitaa* 1992; Pandey 1992; *Suruchi* 1992) which would make anonymity difficult. Indira is an exceptional woman by any standards. She has never married despite strong social pressures to do so and has led a very independent and public life. Indira is a lawyer, feminist, member of the Nepal Law Reform Commission, and current Secretary of His Majesty's Government of Nepal's (HMG/N) Judicial Council, the first woman to ever hold this position and the highest ranking woman in government. In 1965, Indira was the first woman to join HMG/N as a lawyer and has been with HMG/N in various capacities ever since.

Indira's mother died in November, 1992. As Indira has supported, cared for, and lived with her mother throughout her life, she took the virtually unprecedented responsibility of performing the necessary thirteen day funeral

rituals and duties (*kaaj-kriyaa*). Traditionally, a son is essential for Hindus, as I stated above, not just to support the parents in their old age, but also to perform the *kaaj-kriyaa*.⁸ In addition, a man's performance of these rites is closely linked to his inheritance of the family property. The man who does these rites is usually the main inheritor and people tell me of the confusion which often results when someone other than a son performs the *kaaj-kriyaa* (see *Asmitaa* 1992; Bennett 1983:95). Women rarely take part in the *Kaaj-kriyaa* except as bystanders. They are not even allowed to go with the funeral procession which takes the body from the house to the cremation ground (*ghats*); as women tell me, they must say good bye to the deceased from the doorway of their house.

Yet, when her own mother died, Indira took it upon herself to shave her head, wear the white unstitched clothes of mourning, perform the purification ceremonies, walk barefoot the long distance from her own house to the *ghats* at the temple of Pashupatinath. She even lit her mother's pyre; Indira tells me that this was the most difficult and emotionally trying task of all. One is required to put a flaming torch to the face of the deceased until it catches fire and only then is the rest of the pyre lit. It was an act of strong will for Indira to put the flame to the face of her mother who, as she told me, looked real even in her death. The stench was overwhelming and Indira was glad that fasting beforehand is required because otherwise it would be very easy to become nauseous. Indira sat with her mother's body there on the riverbank in her thin white clothing until there was nothing but ashes left of her mother. The ashes were swept into the Bagmati river where they would eventually meet and mingle with the holy Ganges river in India. In doing these rituals, Indira tells me she was demonstrating both her commitment to the well-being of her mother's departed soul and to the social statement she was making about the role of daughters in Hindu Nepalese society.

As an unmarried woman over thirty-five years old, Indira is entitled like her brother to an equal portion of her parents' property (Bennett and Singh 1979:29). Indira has a strengthened claim to this property, she believes, because she cared for her mother for all these years without the assistance of her brothers (even though they could afford to), for and built the house on the piece of property which was to be her mother's and took care of her mother there. Instead, Indira says, her eldest brother is trying to cheat her out of the piece of property which is legally hers, as he cheated their mother out of hers. In describing this to me, Indira makes the explicit link between her care of her mother, her ability to perform the *kaaj-kriyaa*, and her rights to the property, especially when her brothers have been negligent. "Why should they [her brother] get the property," she asked, "when they have not fulfilled their duties to their parents?" Indira insisted on performing the *kaau-kriyaa*

to show people that a daughter is perfectly capable of doing these rituals and as such should also then inherit equally as a son. As local newspapers reported, Indira's performance of her mother's *kaaj-krijaa* was one which resisted traditional gender ideals (Asmitta 1992; Pandey 1992; Suruchi 1992) while conforming to traditional ritual requirements.

This is not the first time that Indira has been vocal about women's position in Nepalese society. As a member of the Nepal Law Reform Commission, she is working to bring about radical social change for women in the legal reform of women's property right. Indira has worked very hard to convince the other Commission members that women should inherit property from their parents as a man does. Her efforts included completing a survey, writing reports, and lobbying with other social activists (Thompson n.d.). Indira is also trying to unify the various factionalized women's groups to pressure the government to make progress on women's rights before International Women's Day in March, 1993 (I. Rana 1992). Unfortunately, she has been faced with overwhelming opposition in terms of both traditionalism and fatalism in trying to make these constitutional changes. What Indira hopes is that even if her own life is not transformed by these resistances, that her defiance, or *birodh*, may have repercussions in wider social spheres.

I saw confirmation of this in March, 1993, with the publication of a small article on the back page of *The Rising Nepal*, the government English language daily. As the article states,

Parents with only daughters need not worry about their own last rites although sons are considered essential for this in our traditional society.

The three unmarried daughters of Colonel Tej Pratap Karki, who died the other day have undertaken the last rites for their father [sic].

The late col. Karki has six daughters, three of them married.

The three sister performing the last rites according to the priest's suggestion are Ambu Bhawani, Indevi and Yamuna Karki.

Last rites of parents by daughters have been performed before in Nepalese society prior to this also (*The Rising Nepal* 1993:8).

When I asked Indira about this article, she smiled broadly, telling me she had seen the article and that what she had done has indeed made some small difference in improving women's rights in Nepal

Questioning the Implications

As a result, I am led to ask, What are the implications of these forms of resistance for wider social contexts? There is not necessarily a relationship between these forms of religious resistance and the consequent lives of these

particular women. Because a woman **doesn't** fast for her husband at Tij doesn't mean that as a result he will **feel compelled** to treat her better, as we saw when Krishna gave his mistress **one of Kumari's** saris and continued to see his mistress even after the mistress **was confronted** by Kumari and her mother-in-law. In the same way, a bride's resistance to standard interpretations of wedding symbolism **does not** mean she will not have difficulties with issues of domination, power, and traditional household relations after marriage. Nor will a woman necessarily be assured her share of the ancestral property because she **performs the necessary kaaj-kriyaa** for her parents.

There are also multiple interpretations of these acts even within the same cultural context. For example, some people believe Indira Rana's motives were "Socially minded" and meant to **help women**. Others claim that Indira is greedy, that she performed her mother's *kaaj-kriyaa* just to get a piece of her brother's property. And still others believe that Indira's motivations were correct, but that these forms of resistance are more detrimental than beneficial. The life story of Anju, a Brahmin teacher, sheds light on this last perspective.

Anju

As Anju tells me, her life has been **filled with** resistance in many forms. She is thirty-five years old and her resistances **began** with her choice of marriage partners and continue even now **with her insistence** upon providing high-quality education for both daughter and son despite the high school fees that consume most of her salary. After **eleven years** of hardship and resistance in her joint family (*birodh* as she term it), Anju feels she has made the wrong decision. She believes she should **have adjusted to the** Hindu gender ideals set down for her—the ideals of conformity, modesty and obedience—the very ideals which ensure the harmony of the extended family. Anju now despairs that her resistance have brought **dissonance within** her family and even now threaten to break it apart. Some **might argue** that Anju's *birodh* has been effective, that she has pushed the **boundaries** of acceptability and is on the verge of radically changing the **structure** of her life. But from Anju's perspective, which I believe is the **most important**, she is unable to reconcile the pain of the present consequences of her past behaviors.

Anju called me on the phone one day after reading a copy of a short article I had written on this women's resistances in ritual (Thompson 1992b). She said she wanted to give me her **opinions of the issues** I had raised and asked if we could meet. In this initial meeting, Anju recollected her resistances and provided me with her current interpretations. She began by providing me with a proverb spoken by the mother at the very moment when her daughter,

the bride, is parted from her forever. The mother says to the groom, as he helps the bride into the vehicle which will take her to her new home (be it a car, carriage, bus, plane, or palanquin), "*Paale punya maare paap*," or "[It is] holy to care [for her], a sin to kill [her]." This made a powerful impression on Anju at her own wedding and I have seen the effect of this proved on other new brides. When Anju's mother uttered this to Anju's new husband, Anju felt the power and reinforcement of centuries of Hindu tradition. She cried even more with the weight of Kilos of red wedding silk, gold jewelry, and the heavy green glass *pote* upon her shoulders. A woman's *dharma* is so tied up with her husband's that the husband accrues both the merit and the sin from his wife's existence; her behavior and life do not apply towards her own rebirth.

Anju says that this statement is so firmly in women's minds, both daughters and mothers, that they don't revolt against what they are suffering. The models are so strong that women often don't even have a marker against which to define their own pain. Anju is afraid that I will perceive high-caste women to be unhappy. She tells me in defense, "Our upbringing teaches us not to be unhappy; we do not even know to revolt or rebel." Anju did revolt though. I describe here some of what Anju has chosen to tell me about her wedding arrangements and the other forms of resistance she exhibited within her extended family. Anju's story will stray a bit from my original concern of women's resistance within ritual, but the issues she raises in the telling of life story shed light on the multiple frameworks within which resistance can be both experienced and interpreted.

Anju tells me that she showed traits of being both "bold and revolting" in school. When she joined college she wanted to study medicine "like the boys." This was quite rare for a woman that time. Since her family did not have enough money though, she ended up going to a less expensive all girls college in Kathmandu where she received her B.A. in the Arts, with a specialty in English. She thought she might want to go on and study for her M.A., but instead she began to teach at a local school. Anju did not really want to go into teaching, but in the back of her mind was the idea that if she taught then she would have time for children when she married. Having a family was of central importance of Anju, even though she did not realize it at the time.

It was also time to get married. Anju's parents were looking around for a husband for her. A couple of good proposals came from well respected families with decent sons, but Anju's parents felt as if Anju was too good for any of the prospects. Anju realized she would never get married at this rate. A matchmaker who knew both families approached Anju's parents with another proposal. The matchmaker spoke to Anju's mother who said she would look

into the matter. But, because the boy was from a slightly lower caste than Anju, her parents felt that he was inappropriate. Her parents were delaying though, they did not reject the boy out-and-out, but they also continued to look further. Anju became angry at this. Anju thought she should choose a husband for herself, especially since she was the one who had to spend the rest of her life with him, not her parents. This is somewhat remarkable; at this time most women were still consenting to arranged marriages, and often the bride and groom never even saw each other until the wedding night. As one woman said, "Before, if the boy had a crooked mouth, the girl just had to manage with him somehow."

When Anju had first heard this man's name from her parents, she thought he sounded interesting. She decided to take matters into her own hands; she began to look into this boy's background by asking her friends at school about him. Anju knew she would have difficulty living in large family because she says she was shy and reserved. When she found out that Ravi was an only son and had a career in the Army she felt he was the one.

Six months had lapsed with all the talk between the families, and so Ravi too knew a lot about her. Anju knew she had to do something for herself at this point to get things underway since so much time had already gone. She took a very bold move: she called his office. They made arrangements to meet at a restaurant and Anju did not sleep a night worrying about whether she had done the right thing. Anju's family did not like this boy at all so they had not even arranged a meeting. Anju went with two of her friends to the restaurant. Since she had seen the picture which he had sent, and he had seen hers, Ravi recognized her immediately. He rose graciously and came to receive them. Her friends left the restaurant and Anju and Ravi began to talk. Anju says they made idle conversation, but it was also deadly serious. It is not as if she was going to see him and decide only then to marry him. She had actually already made up her mind to marry him which is why she took the initiative to meet him. Ravi told her he had made up his mind to marry her and was just waiting for her to decide on him.

After their meeting, Ravi would call her house regularly to talk with her. Anju's parents knew what was happening but pretended not to know until a concerned friend finally told them their daughter was meeting a man. Anju's parents had never before asked, and when they finally did Anju said yes, she was meeting a man and she had decided to marry him. She did not know though that in her family's enquires about Ravi they had disapproved of him not just for reasons of caste. Although he had a good career, his family house was a ruin and ramshackle, really falling apart. They were worried about Anju's ability to cope with a drastic change in living standards.

Her mother asked, "you have already decided to marry him?" Anju said yes. Her mother said, "but the house is so dilapidated that the stairs are bad and you could fall and break your back." Anju replied that it was her own back and her mother shouldn't worry. Ravi's family did have land and money, but they did not care about the house. Anju's mother realized that she had made up her mind and so they arranged to meet Ravi's parents. Because she is strong headed, no matter what would have happened, Anju says she would have married Ravi anyway. Her wedding arrangements and assignments with Ravi had become a site for the expression of her own personality and her resistance to what she felt were her family's more traditional ideals.

The families then went through with the various ceremonies and her family gave her "all that was due her as a bride." When Anju went to Ravi's house to live after the wedding, everything was different from what she had been used to. The house was very "primitive." Anju now had to cook on an "antique" mud oven (*chulo*) while at her mother's they were using gas; a Brahmin was required to cook all the meals for her in-laws in accordance with Hindu traditions of pollution and purity; the *chulo* had to be mopped with fresh cow dung and red mud every day; she had to squat on a small wooden platform (*pirka*) on the floor of the kitchen to eat her meals instead of sitting on a chair or bench. According to Anju, it was the early 1980s, and her in-laws did not even have "a simple thing like a refrigerator."

Anju began to make reforms in the house. She found other jobs for two of the unneeded servants, she bought a gas stove, and they pooled their money and bought a small refrigerator so she did not have to get up early every morning to prepare lunch to take to school—which can take up to two hours. After three or four months, there was a big downpour while her own parents were visiting and part of the house crashed down. Her parents were of course very concerned and Anju went red with embarrassment. She confronted her in-laws and told them they needed to build a new house and so a house was made.

Until this time Anju had no real problems living with her in-laws in a joint family because they listened to her and took her suggestions. Anju was trusted enough to find a husband for Ravi's oldest sister and got her married off properly. After Anju's two children were born, a girl and a boy, everything changed. Anju had to quit her job, stay at home, and watch as bit by bit all the family land was sold off to support the family. She has become possessive about this land because she feels that she has to provide for her children's education. Her father-in-law has little concern for his inherited land, and since Ravi had a very strict upbringing he wouldn't even make inquiries into what his father was doing. At this time, according to Anju, her revolt within her in-laws home began.

Anju was under a lot of pressure watching the land dwindle, seeing how her sister-in-laws manipulated their parents, and not having Ravi on her side. She took another teaching job when her youngest was a year old. And it was at this time that Anju says she learned to speak out more. She realized how she was being bullied by her in-laws; some of it was very subtle and it was done in such a way so that other did not see it. Anju was manipulated into doing things she did not want to do, often small things, sometimes large. When she menstruated, her mother-in-law forced her to sleep on a mattress at Ravi's feet while he slept in a bed. Ravi would not even touch her for four days. She stayed home for these four days every month even if there were important social events to attend. She had to go barefoot into the concrete floored kitchen even in the coldest of winter. Her in-laws would pretend to be ill so she would have to stay home and care for them and not go to visit her *maiti* on festival days. Ravi supported his family in all this and Anju wonders how this could have been a "love" marriage. She felt very trapped and alone.

Anju says that she had always thought her mother-in-law to be docile. Her own cousins thought Anju's mother-in-law should be more accommodating and Anju always defended her. Recently, Anju has realized how much power her mother-in-law has had in the house. When there was tension between Ravi and Anju, it was because her mother-in-law was putting pressure on Ravi and he did not have the courage to say anything to her. Anju does not take this lightly. Now she revolts, she makes scenes, she fights, her "black hair is turning grey from trying to cope." and as a result, the tensions in the house are increasing. When she confronted them about selling off all of the land, her father-in-law asked her what right did she have to say this? Anju replied that her children will need this land later for their education and so it should not be sold. She also insists on sending her children to an expensive school, a school that no one else in the family could afford to keep the children in if she were unable to pay the fees somehow. Ravi makes less money than her and he worries about this. Anju says she does not want his money and tells him that he has no right to hers; she feels she has the right to use the money as she pleases. If she cannot give her children anything else, then at least she has given them a good education. Her in-laws have stopped talking to her.

Ravi married Anju against his parents' wishes as well, but he felt that he would be able to remodel Anju to fit in—to become meek, mild, to be at the beck and call of his sisters—to prove his parents wrong. Anju says, perhaps if she had been sixteen years old when they married it would have worked. Anju told Ravi that if that is the kind of woman he wanted, then he should have married a village girl. She would shout at him that he wanted a doormat, not a wife. Now Anju understands how her parents felt about how

Ravi might not have been a good match for her. Anju believes if she had not come to this understanding, she would have left Ravi and his family long ago.

Anju's father-in-law is still alive. Her mother-in-law is in the hospital, and her mother-in-law is saying that it is Anju's temper which has made her so ill. The family is smaller now, with her sisters-in-law married off. Anju has more work to do and must take the responsibility of many people which is very difficult. She feels that if she had been meek and submissive, then she would not have had these problems. Her in-laws would have been happy too. As Anju says, perhaps it is not good to be aggressive or to assertive; if a woman internalizes the meek attitude prescribed by Hindu texts and traditions, then this is the way to ensure that the home is safe and secure. According to Anju, *dharma* gives importance to the whole family unit rather than the individual. In the great epics, as she says, the women are always in the background. The woman may not be happy, but in the long run the family is intact. If Anju had broken away from her in-laws because of the expression of individual needs, she would have brought greater unhappiness to her husbands, her *maiti*, her in-laws, everyone.

In recollecting, Anju cannot say if the Hindu way is right, or if my western ways (as she perceives them) are. Anju tries to adopt the good things from the west and retain the values from her own culture. In her various descriptions of herself (as shy and modest, as strong headed and stubborn) the tensions between the choices Anju must make between Hindu gender ideals and individual self interests become evident. It is also important to note that Anju's self-perceptions change not only over time also situationally demonstrate how difficult these choices are. Anju is aware of how different her life is from her mother's and how her daughter's life may be very different from hers. As she says, twenty years from now, what is good for her may not be so good for her children.

Conclusions

From Anju's story it is easy to see that social change can be multiply experienced and differently expressed. In Nepal's newly democratic environment, through these act of resistance, Parvati, Indira and even Anju identify themselves with modern gender models within traditional situations. When the resistance occurs within ritual, these high-caste women are resisting dominant symbols and at the same time they complying with other cultural forces and social pressures. Sometimes the audience and motivation for resisting are personal and not meant to affect anything or anyone beyond the individual woman's life or household, as we with Maya's clandestine trips and Kumari's refusals. On the other hand, sometimes acts of resistance

are meant for wider audiences such as when they are displayed at weddings and funerals. Both weddings and funerals can be precarious affairs, being in many ways the embodiment of cultural ideals and the arenas where relations of power are expressed (through wealth and hierarchy displays, and elaboration of the rituals). As such, they become strong statements for those both within and outside the family.

In my research, I have found that these larger more public displays of resistance were not as prevalent prior to the political changes in Nepal although women played a very important role in bringing about these changes (Yami 1990). As a result, the idea of the ability of individuals to affect their own life situations whether on a large or small scale, or in private or public, is beginning to be affirmed. Neither Parvati nor Indira would ever have gotten away with such public resistances before democracy, especially since they both belong to elite families. But after democracy and with the reduction of the power of these elites, they were able to make these declarations in a less constraining environment. High-caste Hindu women actively construct their relationships with others in reference to existing power relations and social structures. These women use forms of resistance which reflect interpersonal relations within families, and between women and men—the very same power relationships established by Hindu traditions—which are beginning to be questioned and challenged as a result of the recent social changes.

Notes

1. My research in Kathmandu, beginning in October 1990, has been made possible by a Grant-in-Aid of Research from Sigma Xi, The Scientific Research Society, and by a Fulbright-Hays Award from the Institute of International Education. I am grateful to them for their support and confidence in my research. The following people who have helped me in innumerable ways. First, I must thank my Nepalese informants who have so kindly opened up their hearts, homes and lives to me; without their patience and willingness none of this would have been possible. I thank Maria Lepowsky and Kirin Narayan who have helped me to rethink and refine this article in important ways. Lynn Bennnett also provided me with key suggestions. Earlier versions of this article were presented in 1992 at the international conference on The Anthropology of Nepal: People, Problems and Processes, and at the 91 st Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association. I thank the participants at both conferences who provided me with challenging comment and criticisms. And finally I must acknowledge Todd Greetree. Without his support, criticism, personal commitment, and our ongoing

conversations, my work would not be what it is. What errors remain are, of course, my own.

2. According to Nepalese Hindu tradition, Brahmins are the priestly caste, and Chhetris, as the Warrior caste, are slightly below them in the hierarchy. These are the two highest castes in Nepal and together they are often referred to as Parbatiya because of their common ethnic origins. For discussions of caste relations in Nepal, see Acharya and Bennett (1983), Bista (1987), doherty (1974), Fisher (1978), Fürer-Haimendorf (1960, 1966, 1971), Kondos (1982) and Levine (1987).
3. I have changed the names and disguised the identities of these women in order to protect their anonymity. In most cases, I am using names which my informants themselves asked me to use.
4. For other discussions of the ideology and practice of *sati* throughout South Asia see Harlan (1992), Mani (1989). G. Rana (n.d.) and Sharma et al. (1988).
5. Early discussion of Tij and Rishi Panchami include Anderson (1971), Bennett (1976, 1983), and Bouillier (1982). For recent work which criticizes the high-caste bias of this earlier work see Ahearn (1991), Skinner (1991), and Skinner et al. (in press.)
6. For a discussion of the changing categories of marriage in Kathmandu, see Thompson (1992a).
7. See Bennett (1983) for a detailed description and symbolic analysis of this phenomenon.
8. See Bennett (1983:92-107) for an ideal depiction of the high-caste Hindu funeral rituals.

References

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. 1990. "The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Badouin Women." *America Ethnologist* 17 (1):4155.
- _____. 1986. *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouni Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Acharya, Meena and Lynn Bennett. 1981. *The Rural Women of Nepal: An Aggregate Analysis and Summary of Eight Village Studies*. The Status of Women in nepal, II(9). Kathmandu: CEDA, Tribhuvan University.
- Ahearn, Laura M. 1991. "The Emergence of Cultural Meaning in Nepali Women's Songfest." Paper presented at the 20th Annual South Asia Conference, November 1. Madison Wisconsin

- Anderson, Mary. 1971. *The Festivals of Nepal*. London: George Allen and Unwin.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1990. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Public Culture* 2(2):1-24.
- Asmitaa Staff Reporter. 1992(B.S. 2049). "Interview with Indira Rana". *Asmitaa* (Kathmandu), November/December (*Mangshir*), 5(16):17.
- Bennett, Lynn. 1983. *Dangerous Wives And Sacred Sisters: Social and Symbolic Roles of High-Caste Women in Nepal*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- _____. 1981. *The Parbatiya Women of Bakundol*. The Status of Women in Nepal. II(7). Kathmandu: CEDA, Tribhuvan University.
- _____. 1976. "The Wives of the Rishis: An Analysis of the Tij-Rishi Panchami Women's Festival." *kailash* 4(2):185-207.
- Bennett, Lynn, and Shilu Singh. 1979. *Triadition and change in the Legal Status of Nepalese Women*. The Status of Women in Nepal, I(2). Kathmandu: CEDA, Tribhuvan University.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1987. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- Bouillier, Véronique. 1982. "Tij ou la Fete des Femmes." *Objets et Mondes* 9:7-18.
- Bumiller, Elisabeth. 1990. *May You Be the Mother of a Hundred Sons: A Journey Among the women of India*. New York: Random House.
- Chatterjee, Partha. 1989. "colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women: the Contest in India." *American Ethnologist* 16(4): 622-633.
- Comaroff, Jean. 1935. *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South Africa People*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Craig, Gordon A. 1992. "Good Germans." *The New York Review of Books*, December 17, 39,(21):38-44.
- Datta, V.N. (1988)1990. *Sati: Widow Burning in India*. Delhi: Manohar.

- Doherty, Victor S. 1974. "The Organizing Principles of Brahmin-Chetir Kinship." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 2:24-41.
- Fisher, James F. 1978. "Home Hierarchicus Nepalensis: A Cultural Subspecies." *Himalayan Anthropology: The Indo-Tibetan Interface*. James F. Fisher, ed., pp. 43-52. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph von. 1971. "Status and Interaction among the High Hindu Castes of Nepal." *The Eastern Anthropologist* 24:7-24.
- _____. 1966 *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.
- _____. 1960. "Caste in the Multi-Ethnic Society of Nepal." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 4:12-32.
- Gray, John N. 1991. "Marriage and the Constitution of Hierarchy and Gender in Bahun-chettri Households." *contributions to Nepalese Studies* 18(1):53-82.
- _____. 1989. "The Household in Nepal: Social and Experiential Crucible of Society." *Society from the Inside Out: Anthropological Perspectives on the South Asian Household*. John N. Gray and David J. Mearns, eds., pp 140-161. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- _____. (1982) 1990. "Chettri women in Domestic Groups and Ritual." *Women in India and Nepal*. Michael Allen and S. Mukherjee, eds., pp 211-141. New Delhi: Sterling.
- Grima, Benedicte. 1992. *The Performance of Emotion among Paxtun Women: "The Misfortunes which Have Befallen Me"*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Harlan, Lindsey. 1992. *Religion and Rajput Women: The Ethic of Protection in Contemporary Narratives*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hobsbawn, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 1983. *The invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kondos, Vivienne. 1991. "Subjection and the Ethics of Anguish: The Nepalese Parbatya Parent-Daughter Relationship." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 25(1):113-133.

- _____. 1989. "Subjection and the domicile: some Problematic Issues Relating to High Caste Nepalese Women." *Society from the Inside Out: Anthropological Perspectives on the South Asian Household*. John N. Gray and David J. Mearns, eds, pp 162-191. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- _____. (1982) 1990. "The Triple Goddess and the Processual Approach to the World: The Parbatya Case." In *Women in India and Nepal*(eds) Michael Allen ad S. Mukherjee, 242-286. New Delhi Sterling.
- Lepowsky, Maria. 1991. "The Way of the Ancestors: Custom. Innovation, and Resistance." *Ethnology* 30(3):217-235.
- Levine, Nancy. 1987. "Caste, State, and Ethnic Boundaries in Nepal." *Journal of Asian Studies* 46(1):71-88.
- Lewis, Ion M. (1971)1989. *Ectatic Religion: A Study of Shamanism and Spirit Possession*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
- MacLeod, Arlene E. 1992. "Hegemonic Relations and Gender Resistance: The New Veiling as Accommodating Protest in Cairo." *Signs* 17(3):533-557.
- Mahoney, Maureen A, and Barbara Yngvesson. 1992, "The Construction of Subjectivity and the Paradox of Resistance: Reintegrating Feminist Anthropology and Psychology." *Signs* 18(1)44-73.
- Mini, Lata. 1989. "Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India." *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History*. Kum Kum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., pp. 119-156. New Delhi: Kali.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds. 1991. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Murphy, Yolanda and Robert F. Murphy. 1985. *Women of the forest*. Second edition. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Narasimhan, Sakuntala. 1992. *Sati. Widow Burning in India*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Okely, Judith, 1991. "Defiant Moments: Gender, Resistance and Individuals." *Man* 26(3):3-22.

- Ong, Aihwa. 1987. *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Pandey, Lakshman. 1992(B.S.2049). "A Reformist Rebel!" *Weekend* (Kathmandu), November 30 (*Mangshir* 15), 2(21).
- Radner, Joan N, and Susan S. Lanser. 1993. "Strategies of Coding in women's Cultures." *Feminist Messages: Coding in Women's Folk Culture*, Joan N. Radner, ed., pp. 1-29 Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Rana, Greta. nn.d. "Sati." Kathmandu. Manuscript.
- Rana, Indira. 1992 (B.S.2049). "Status of Nepalese Women." *The Rising Nepal* (Kathmandu), December 24 (*Paush* 9).
- The Rising Nepal* Staff Reporter. 1993 (B.S. 2049) "Daughters Perform last Rites." *The Rising Nepal* (Kathmandu). March 19 (*Chaitra* 6),p. 8.
- Scott, James C. 1990 *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Trancripts*. New haven: Yale University Press.
- Sered, Susan Starr. 1990. "Women, Religion, and Modernization: Traditional and Transformation Among Elderly Jews in Israel." *American Anthropologist* 92(2):306-318.
- Sharma, Arvind, Ajit Ray, Alaka Hejibb, and Katherine K. Young. 1988. *Sati: Historical and Phenomenological Essays*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Skinner, Debra 1991. "Singing Commentary: The Tij Festival in Nepal." *Annals of the southeast Conference Association for Asian Studies* 13:103-113.
- Skinner, Debra, Dorothy Holland and G.B. Adhilkari. in press. "The songs of Tij: A Genre of Critical commentary of Women in Nepal." *Asian Folklore Studies*.
- Slusser, Mary. 1982. *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*. Vol. I: Text. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Sowerwine, Jennifer. 1993. "Uniting for Women's Right." *CWD Networker* (Kathmandu), January, pp 2-3.

Suruchi Staff Reporter. 1992(B.S.2049) "Daughter Does Mother's Funeral Rites!" *Suruchi* Kathmandu, November 8-14 (*Kartik* 23-29), 10(36):1.

Thompson, Julia J. 1992a. "Gauzy Images, Streamers, and Sorry Brides: Social change and the romanticization of Marriage in Kathmandu." Paper presented at the 21 st annual South Asia conference, November 7. Madison, Wisconsin.

_____. 1992b. "Religion, Resistance and Power. Conformity and Nonconformity in Kathmandu." *Mirror* (Kathmandu), July/August, pp. 15-19.

_____. n.d. "A Diversity of Discourses on Legal Reform, Gender, and Social Change in Hindu Nepal." Manuscript.

Yami, Hisila. 1990. "Nepal: Women and the Democracy Movement." *Manushi: A Journal about Women and Society* (Delhi), Number 60, September-October, pp. 29-33.

THE NEPALESE STATE AND GORAKHNATHI YOGIS: THE CASE OF THE FORMER KINGDOMS OF DANG VALLEY: 18-19TH CENTURIES

Véronique Bouillier

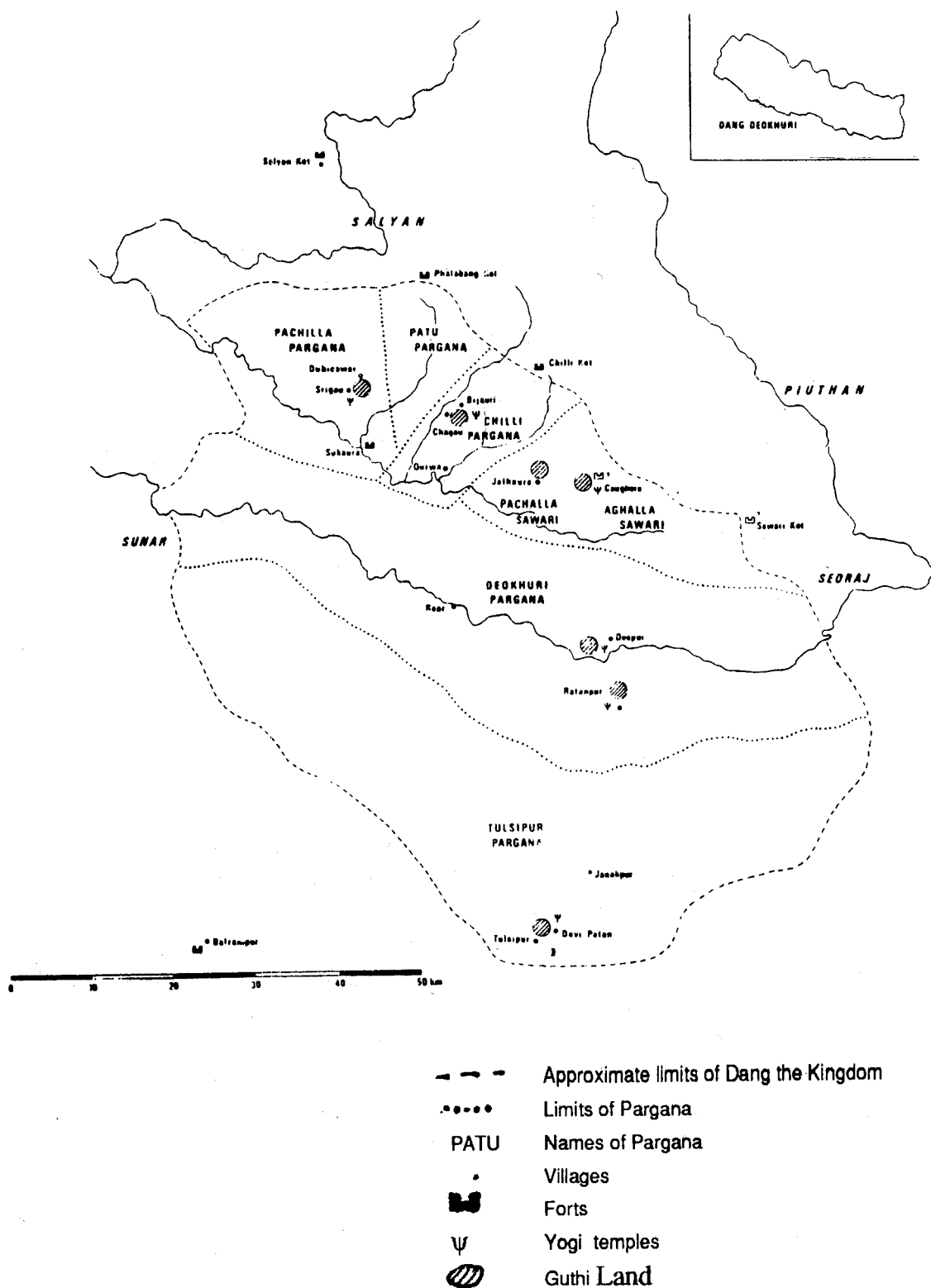
Introduction

Kings and Yogis, and kingdoms and monasteries have been often connected. Through a process of common conquest of new territories and mutual legitimation, magico-spiritual and temporal powers have collaborated. This has been the case in some western Himalayan kingdoms – in Gorkha and also in the Dang-Deokhuri Valley. The process lent to a gradual hinduization of remote areas. This had political consequences as fostering hinduization also promotes the Hindu concept of kingship, allowing political use to be made of the religious status of the monastery.

The aim of this article is to get a glimpse through documents of the previous last century of the sometimes conflicting relationships between royal powers and monasteries and to show the permanency of this mode of relationship, despite changing political conditions.

Prior to the conquest by the Gorkha troops in 1786, the territory of the Dang Valley was divided among small kingdoms: Dang and Chilli in the valley itself, Sallyan and Phalabang in the hills.

This valley is situated in the southwest of Nepal in the Inner Terai, bordered by the Mahabharat Lekh on the northern side and the Siwalik on the southern. Many rivers, swelling suddenly during the monsoon, run through the valley, which was covered with forest until the nineteenth century and infested by malaria up to the mid-twentieth. South of Dang, the valley of Deukhuri is part of the administrative and social unity of Dang. This Deukhuri Valley, although more fertile, has been cleared lately, and documents show that the limits of allotted tracts of land were never very precise, thus subject to encroachment and contestation in this jungle landscape. Separated from the hills of central Nepal by the Mahabharat Lekh, Dang, like the whole of Terai, was culturally very much related to North India and the original inhabitants of Dang, the Tharus, reside on both sides of the border. The connection with hill Nepal slowly strengthened after the annexion of the previously independent kingdom by Prithvi



*Map of the Dang Kingdom in the beginning of the 19th century
[From G. Krauskopff, 1989: 43]*

Narayan's successor in 1986. As part of the Indian influence, the Gorakhanthi ascetics settled in the valley and established temples and monasteries. Among them, the monastery of Caughera, founded by the legendary Siddha Ratannath, grew preeminent. The relationships between the monastery and the king was a dominant feature of the former Dang *rajya*, as also for Chilli and Phalabang, and it continued after the Gorkha conquest.

I will focus on the relationship of the monastery with the political power in the changing conditions of that time. My main points will be:

- a brief introduction on the Kanphata Yogi or Gorakhnathi sect,
- a summary of the legend of foundation of the monastery in its relation to kingship,
- some data on the history of the Dang, Chilli and Phalabang *rajyas*, mainly from the viewpoint of the monastery,
- the relationships between the monastery and the Nepalese State as included in the *guthi* system,
- the *guthi* as the delegation by the king of a part of his sovereignty,
- the conflicts with collectors or with the State regarding fiscal matters,
- the conflicts regarding traditions: problems of purity,
- the State as an arbitrator.

The Gorakhnathis or Kanphata Yogis

The sect of the Kanphata Yogis was founded around the eleventh century in the line of the last saiva tantricised movements. Its founder, Goraknath, created an organisation of celibate ascetics. Their aim was to attain immortality through the practise of Hatha Yoga. The liberation, *moksa*, was less the attainment of an undifferentiated state, unqualified absolute, than the state of Sivahood understood as a state of bodily perfection and mastership of natural processes and control over the universe. Thus the quest of *siddhis*, (powers), which in "purer", more brahmanized conceptions of asceticism are subordinate to the ultimate goal of liberation, became among the Yogis their main goal (of. Dasgupta 1976; Briggs 1938; Banerjee 1962). And they were soon well known for their magical abilities. As I have shown in previous articles (Bouillier 1986, 1989, 1991), this magical orientation makes the Yogis the best auxiliaries to a conquering power, and many legends, especially in Himalayan kingdoms, associate them to the foundation of new princely states. These legendary foundations had their prolongations in many Saiva cults where the Kanphatas are the officiating priests of the palace temples dedicated to Gorakhnath or any local Nath, Bhairav and the Devi.

Many of these Yogis married, and we now have an important community of *gharbari*, householder Yogis, who remain in one way or another related to

their ancient status of ascetics. And most of the pujaris of the temples related to palaces, like the Gorkhnath's cave temple in Gorkha, are married and part of the Yogi caste. This is not the case in Dang. The monastery and the *seva*, the service of the temple, are restricted to the celibate and fully initiated, *kan cereko* Yogis (i. e., "ear-splitted," the last level of initiation consisting in splitting the cartilage of the ear to insert large earrings). Caughera and Mrigasthali are the only two monasteries of this kind in Nepal. But nowadays Caughera is far more important than Mrigasthali where there are only a few ascetics around the *mahant*. Approximately thirty ascetics live permanently in Caughera, and many more spend a few days there on their way to Muktinath or Pasupatinath. Usually the residents are Nepalese and the itinerant Indian.

Foundation Legends

There are different versions of the legend describing the foundation of the Caughera monastery¹ but all of them link this foundation with kingship.

The common background is the jungle: "In the beginning, there was the jungle," thus start all the narratives. The jungle, as a thick and humid forest, at the same time, expresses the physical reality of the Dang valley in the past and, on a metaphorical level, the meeting point of the three characters of our story. The wilderness of the jungle is a place common to the ascetic, to the hunting king and to the local, "savage", *jungali* inhabitant, here the Tharu. And the focal point of their relationship is the wild beast; both the ascetic and the king argue about the violence, the *himsa* of the hunting king and the *ahimsa* professed by the ascetic; and the stake is the sovereignty upon the third party, the inhabitant of this wild country, this "*sava lakh jhar khanda*" (one lakh and a quarter of bushy territory) as Dang is defined and called.

The legend tells us of a king who went hunting in the wood. He saw a deer, a beautiful *mriga*, and shot an arrow. The wounded deer went deep into the forest, and the king followed it. Then suddenly, in the middle of the jungle, he met a radiant ascetic, seated in *samadhi*. The arrow was in front of him. The king understood his mistake and apologized. The Siddha forgave him and granted him a boon.² He showed him, through yogic power, all the land between the east and the west and offered him its sovereignty. The king felt unable to reign upon such a huge kingdom. Then the ascetic showed him a smaller territory, a thousand *yogana*. The king again refused and finally accepted to reign over the Dang Valley. Then the Siddha, whose name was Ratannath took the arrow and gave it to the king, saying, "as long as you keep the arrow, you will keep your kingdom firm." The king then initiated the worship of Ratannath, and since then the king's lineage worships Ratannath and keeps the arrow for six months. The other six months, the

yogis worship the arrow and the king must give them half of the revenue he gets from his kingdom” (Narharinath 2022: 516).

The legend makes obvious this relationship between a protective deified Shiddha and a protected king through the gift of an object emblematic of the king’s status. And this founding relationship is continued in the sharing relationship between the king and the Yogis, the successors of Ratannath.

The transitivity of this relationship transcends all the historical changes. The relationship is between Yogis and kings, whoever the king is. And even if the sharing is not as favorable to the Yogis as in the legend, there is, through gifts of land and privileges from the king, a sharing of sovereignty.

This relationship revolves around a central place, the Ratannath’s temple, and further around the monastic centre, where the worshippers of the siddha live, and the territory given as *guthi* to ensure its proper maintenance.

Ratannath’s Temples in the History of the Dang Valley

Palaces and Temples: The spatial proximity between the temples and the palaces gives some clues of the former history of the Dang Valley, then divided among various small kingdoms. Ratannath was worshiped in a palatial cult in all of these kingdoms and it today we know very little about them (even the palaces have disappeared), we still find the Ratannath’s temples, in a more or less decayed state, which were previously related to the palaces.

Three kingdoms share a mythical as well as ritual connection with Ratannath: Dang, Chilli (both in the Dang Valley) and Phalabang higher on the ridge. All the three are connected with one legend, based on the same structure as the one related before. This story, written at the foot of one of the paintings of Caughera Monastery, is ambiguous regarding precise locations and dates, but it shows clearly the connection between the king’s sovereignty and the territorial presence of Ratannath. The Siddha’s blood marks the main points of a journey through a ritually defined realm.

The king of Phalabang saw one day a huge *bandel*, wild boar, in his garden. He shot an arrow which wounded the boar on its right side. The boar ran away, taking a specific way. He arrived at the Tharkot ridge, and because of the pain, stopped there, where a pool of blood appeared. The king arrived. Seeing him, the boar ran away and arrived in the Dang Tulsipur forest and stayed hidden there. The king arrived. The boar ran away again and arrived in Chilli gau where he rested under a bush, where another pool of blood appeared. The king arrived. The boar ran away to a bush near Pacurka village. And there when the king arrived, he saw a young Yogi in front of him, wearing all the distinctive marks and having an arrow in his right side, blood dripping on the ground. The king of course was terrified and apologized, “I

am a king, I am used to hunting." And Ratannath said: "At each place where my blood was shed, build a temple dedicated to me and establish a *guthi*; build a temple in Tharkot, another in Tulsipur, give the name of Thangau; in Chilli, erect a temple and give it the name of Chillithangau. In Pacurka, once a year during Patanyatra,³ give an arrow With your friend Nawal Sen, king of Caughera, collect alms from every house in Deukhuri and give them to the Yogis for my journey to Patan. If they are satisfied, you will have a large descent." After saying that, he sent the king back to his palace and blessed him.

There are still temples in Chilli-Thangau and Tulsipur; as for Tharkot, it is probably related to Phalabang.

It is striking that, in all three cases, there is not only a close spatial relationship between the palace and the Ratannath's temple, but also a duplication of this relationship, following the movements of the king and his court between winter and summer capitals. Like the Gorkhali,⁴ the kings of Dang, Chilli and Phalabang used to have a winter capital in the valley and a summer one on the ridge on the northern side. This movement was made even more necessary due to the presence of malaria in the Terai during the monsoon. Thus there are winter palaces and winter Ratannath's temples and summer palaces and temples. The movement between the two solemnized by a procession in which the Yogis carried the emblem of the deity from one temple to the other.

In the case of Dang, the winter Ratannath's temple and the king's palace were close together in Caughera. There was also a smaller Ratannath's temple, probably inside the palace and under the responsibility of a yogi *rajguru*. But nowadays nothing remains of the palace except a larger *maidan* and some walls. The summer residence was in Sawarikot where a monastery was built according to the same rules as Caughera. But the last twenty-five years of neglect have left nothing of the palace nor of the monastery, except a few stones and a pipal surrounded by tridents.

The procession used to leave Caughera for Sawarikot in *Asadh* (June-July), already with the rains as can be seen in a wall painting in Caughera. According to this painting, two Damai came first leading the yogis and playing the flute and the drum; following them, came the main Yogis carrying flags, fly-swatters, torches and silver clubs; then came the head of the monastery, the *pir*, wearing the strange conical red cad which is the sign of his office and carrying the emblem of the monastery, the *patradevata*,⁵ hidden under cloths and flowers. After him followed the ordinary Yogis, then the Tharus carrying the goods for them. After a few months in Sawarikot, at the end of which the Yogis celebrated the Dasai festival, the same procession

returned back to Caughera. The Yogis retained this tradition until the eradication of malaria, twenty years ago.

In Chilli, we find also this duplication between a Ratannath's temple in Thangau and probably a palace in Bijauri not far away for the winter in the valley and a palace and a temple on the ridge in Chillikot for the summer. The memory of this seasonal movement remains, but few other traces. In Bijauri, there is just a huge wall around the present sanscrit college, and in Thangau there is a Ratannath's temple with a dilapidated Bhairav's temple nearby, with a Yogi *pujari* calling himself *rajguru* and paid by the Guthi Samsthan since 1942 AD.

In Chillikot, only two temples remain both dedicated to the Devis Kalika and Malika and worshipped by a Kunwar Yogi. A procession is led from Thangau to the higher temples for Dasai and Caitya Dasai.

The tradition is much more alive in Phalabang. The winter residence in the valley belonging to the nineteenth century raja of Phalabang (of. passim) was in Tulsipur, now an important bazaar to the northwest of the Dang Valley.

The palace is a Rana house, now the residence of the zonal Commissioner, and not far away, is the Ratannath's temple, recently rebuilt in concrete. Nearby is a *sikhara* temple devoted to Ratannath's disciple, Balaknath, which was built with a private donation, and nearby is the house of the *pujaris*. This Yogi family has been in charge of the temple for six to seven generations, and until 1927, it was also managing an important *guthi*. Now three brothers share the responsibility. The worship is celebrated in winter in Tulsipur, then in summer in Phalabang. One Tuesday in Baisakh (April-May) two of the *pujaris* go up the hill, carrying the emblem of Ratannath (in this case a plate with his foot-prints) called also *patradev*. They walk for six hours, accompanied by Damai musicians, then arrive in Phalabang and stay there all summer until a Tuesday in *mangsir* (November-December), when they return to Tulsipur. In Phalabang there are two palaces, an old one in Newar style and a new one in Rana style, both quite imposing. In the old palace, there are the Ratannath's temple (a small pagoda in brick) and altars to Bhairav. The *pujaris* place Ratannath's emblem in this temple for six months and perform there the Dasai celebration.

There is a striking similarity between the past division into the three kingdoms of Dang, Chilli and Tulsipur-Phalabang (with their *kot*, their fortresses of the ridge, and the protection of Ratannath) with the nineteenth century division of the valley into *parganas* where the chiefs were the Tharus *caudharis* (of. Krauskopff 1989:47, 1990). The connection is also found in rituals, since Ratannath is considered by the Tharus as the ultimate deity, a form of Siva worshipped as a guru whose disciples are the divine ancestors of the Tharus and the masters of the soil. A until thirty years ago, when the

Yogis in Procession took Ratannath to the goddess sanctuary of Devi Patan in Balrampur, the *caudhari* publicly worshipped his ancestor deity and renewed his own power that he had inherited from the divine sovereign of the soil (Krauskopff 1989: 49,52).

History Prior to the Gorkha conquest, in the Light of the Documents of the Caughera Monastery.

Dang Rajya

Inhabited by the Tharus who, according to their traditions, believe in a former Tharu kingdom Dang was probably once under Jumla domination. There is one mention in 1336 A. D. inscription of orders given by Punya Malla to his subordinate *mahatam* in Dang (Rajaure 1981:157). Later the tradition tells that the kingdom was conquered by a would-be Rajput king, and of course it is tempting to imagine a joint arrival of the rajputized kings together with the Yogis (as was the case in the legend of western kingdoms, after the Malla downfall), but we have no information.⁷ According to Nevill's Gazetteer of Bahreich (1922:124), in 1485 Dangdun was in the possession of a hill raja named Udat Singh, of the Chauhan dynasty.

All we know is that the last independant king ruled from Caughera and was called Nawal Singh (in the documents of Caughera, but "Newal Singh" for Nevill [1921:79], "Awab Singh" for Hamilton [1819, 1971: 277]. and Nawal Sen on the wall paintings of the monastery). His relationshop with the monastery is well established, as known from the mention of an edict, unfortunately not fully dated (14 clear fortnight of *Phagun*, but no year mentioned), a *stithipatra*, a "letter about customs," concerning a special tax, the *kar kathala*. Its revenue is still now given to the monastery. This letter had been written in the assembly hall (dalaica of Sawari kot) in the presence of the king Nawal Singh of Dang and of the *barapanthi* (authorities of the sect) and among them the Bhagavantanath. The mention of this Yogi is interesting, as he is linked to the Sallyan kingdom and was given land in the Dang Valley (in the western portion which was part of the Sallyan kingdom) in 1780.

The king Nawal Singh is also mentioned in the *Yogi vamsavali* in relation to one of his *rajgurus*, whose name appears in the list of the various charges in the Caughera Monastery in 1776 (Narharinath n.d.: 48).

But at this time the Dang *rajya* had already been allocated, on paper, to Krsna San, the king of Sallyan, as a dowry for the marriage in 1763 of his son, Ranabhim Sah, with Prithvi Narayan's daughter. King Krsna Sah received this Dang *rajya* thanks to his benevolent neutrality during the Gorkha conquest. The Dang territory of *jagga* is described also as a *desa* (of Krauskopff 1990:36-37), and its borders are the Madi river on the eastern

side, the old border with Balrampur on the southern side, and the old borders with Sallyan on the western and northern sides (*tamapatra* from 1804 V. S., Narharinath 2022:409)

The king Nawal Singh was of course unhappy with these arrangements, and he plotted against Sallyan and Kathmandu. He was defeated in 1786. He asked refuge later from the king of Balrampur, who gave him an estate in Tulsipur *pargana* (cf. Nevill 1921:79 ff).

We have thus a change in the political sovereignty in the Dang Valley, but the status of the Caughera monastery remains unchanged.

In a document consequently during the regency between 1785 and 1794 unfortunately undated but signed by both King Rana Bahadur Sah and prince Bahadur Sah, we find a confirmation of "what has been given as *ghar khet gar*, house, field, village to the Ratannath's *math* by the king of Dang. That the Yogis eat what is theirs and the king what is his. Do not create trouble in the *guthi* of Yogis. Let them do *puja* according to the tradition" (Narharinath 2022:659).

Yet later the Sallyan king is invested with the sovereignty, and we have many documents concerning the monastery, signed by Krsna Sah and his son Ranabhim Sah. For instance, in 1789: "Sri Krisna Sah, son of Samgramasah, warns not to create any trouble in the collection of funds for the portage and the food intended for the Yogis going to Patan Devi for *patradev yatra*."⁹ He sets himself up immediately as the protector of the Caughera tradition and perpetuates the privileges given by the former dynasty.

But this Sallyan sovereignty will not last very long. In 1809 Ranabhim Sah is thrown out, following a conflict with Bhimsen Thapa and a forged accusation of treason (cf. Manandhar 1986). The administration of Sallyan is given to a governor, Rudra Vir Sah, who signs many edicts concerning the monastery. After him, Caughera deals with different administrative officials, but no mention is made of Tej Bahadur Sah, who in 1827 worked as a tax-collector for Sallyan, then was appointed as Raja of Phalabang with collection rights on Dang. Apparently, Caughera is outside his jurisdiction and directly responsible to Kathmandu.

After the Rana ascendancy, we find many documents signed by the different prime ministers. The administrative condition of Caughera follows the common procedure: on the first level, contacts with the local *mal kacajari* (tax office), *adalat* (law court in Sallyan), *guthi kacahari* (Guthi office), and then an appeal to the Prime Minister, or a request made directly to the Prime Minister during his *sawari* (visit), i. e., his hunting expedition in the Terai, which was very important to the administration of Terai.⁹ These expeditions, made every year, were the opportunity of a direct contact with

the minister, and thus a special office was in charge of collecting the requests made by the people on these occasions. Many times the *manbhau* seized the opportunity to claim some monastery rights.

Phalabang

For the second of the kingdoms associated with Ratannath, Phalabang, the historical data is very poor. We know for sure that the newly made king Tej Bahadur Sah had the title of king of Phalabang. According to Baburam Acarya (quoted in Manandhar 1986:103), it is in "a place in Sallyan called Phalawang" that Vilas Kumari, the wife of the expelled King Ranabhim Sah of Sallyan, and the daughter of Prithve Narayan, was exiled in 1809. Whether Phalabang was a part of Sallyan or a separate kingdom, before the Gorkha annexion, we don't really know. There are some small indications in favor of the opinion of a separate kingdom.

(1) Hamilton (1819, 1971:278) mentions that, after the conquest, the rajas of Dang, "had withdrawn to Phalabamb, which was not not the plain, but on a hill immediately overhanging it. Thes town is not (1802) often called Dang New Dang or Phalabamb was protedted by the Nawab Vazir." And Hamilton continues, without explaining if Phalabag has been conquered later on: "Nawab Singh, who was deprived of his estates, was reckoned the fortieth chief of his race. He retired to a house... twelve coses north from Tulasipur." But Hamilton does not count Phalabang among the *rajyas*, among the Baisi, as he does for Dang and Chilli.

(2) D. R. Regmi is more affirmative but does not provide evidence for what he says. "Both Phalabang and Sallyana were ruled by different rulers. Phalabang had cooperated with the Gorkhalis and the Raja became the ruler in the other principality after their victory" (1975:13)¹⁰.

(3) The *tamapatra* of 1804 A. D., recalling the dowry given by Prithvi Barayan to his daughter, presents Phalabang as independant from Sallyan, "In 1823 VS (1766) the king and the queen gave their daughter in marriage to Ranabhim Sah, the king of Sallyan and together with her, they gave him Chilli, the Phalabang Hills, the Terai of Dang Deukhuri, and all this sand in *kus birta* exempt from taxes." The same *patra* mentions, "the ancient *muluk* of Sallyan limited on the eastern side by the ancient border with Phalabang" (Narharinath 2022:409).

Anyhow, whatever the status of phalabang, we find mythical and ritual connections between the royal palace and the Siddha Ratannath with his Yogi priests. I suppose that this connection was anterior to the new *rajya* status given to Phalabang in 1837. It not, I cannot see why Tej Bahadur Sah and his successors needed to establish such a strong relation with a deity totally

alien to Sallyan and connected with Dang, a vainquished kingdom, outside their dominion.

Chilli

The political situation is also quite complex but we have more documents. It is listed by Hamilton as one of the Baise, the twenty-two rajyas, "as a very small territory partly on the plains and partly on the hills; but it produced, as the Raja's share, 2,500 rupees ayear. The chief's residence was on a hill, the ascent to which may be $1\frac{1}{2}$ in length. There is round his house a small town containing two hundred houses. He is of the samal tribe, that is, of the Malbum family, and is a branch of the Dang chief's house. Being nearly connected with the Gorkha family by marriage, when his estates were weized, he went to Kathmandu and procured the whole to be restored without even tribute. If Bhimsen has respected them, he is the only chief from the Tishta to the Yamuna, that has retained his estates of power" (1919, 1971, 279).

It seems that Chilli had supported Gorkha in its conquest and kept its independency, than later on, was annexed by Dang. A royal order of King Girban Sah to Maharaja Bir Bhadra Sah of Chilli (translated in RSS, 21, 12, 1989: 172) made in 1860 V. S. (1802 A. D.) says, "In recognition of your services during the battle of Argha, our father (Rana Bahadur Sah) has reconfirmed your possession of Chilli. Subsequently Chilli was joined to Dang on the ground that it was a vassal (*thapale*) of that principality.¹¹ However you, Maharaja Bir Bhadra Sah, submitted a petition protesting against that decision. Inquiries revealed that Chilli was not actually under Dang.... We restore it to you Remain loyal to us, and rule the territory of Chilli from generation to generation."

This same Bir Bhadra Sah was already reigning in 1790 A. D. (cf a letter from V. S, 1847, Narharinath 2022:608). But he seems to have had a difficult time, since a *rukka* of 1863 V.S. (1806 A. D.) refers to trouble with money lenders, which later on will be settled, since, "yesterday the king of Chilli ascended the throne" 2022: 608).

But I did not find any document on what happened afterwards or when the Chilli *rajya* was abolished.

Guthi and Sovereignty

In all the three places, Caughera, Phalabang-Tulsipur and Chilli, *Guthis* were added to the Ratannath's temples. I will focus here on the situation of Caughera as it appears from documents mostly from the nineteenth century.

The foundation of the monastery appears very much related to the gift of land made by the king. The revenue of these lands in intended for the maintenance of the monastery with the aim of performing the rituals. On this

point legend and actual observation meet: the centre of Caughera and its *raison d'être* are the permanent worship of a symbolic object representing Gorakhnath, and in other versions of the legend, given to Ratannath. The Yogis are considered as the *pujaris*, the officiating priests of this institution; here temple and monastery are not dissociated.

Thus the gifts of land were conditional. They were not made only in consideration of the ritual status of the recipient, like royal gift to Brahmins, because of the meritorious act of giving to a Brahmin (cf. Burghart 1987); they were given to the deity Ratannath. And the Yogis are the beneficiary of usufructuary rights, provided that they perform the "*nitya naimittika puja*," maintain and repair the buildings, and feed the Yogis and pilgrims.

And as it was explained in the legend of the arrow given to the king by Ratannath, the Yogis get a share (half) of the revenue of the kingdom because they also share in the care of the protective arrow—they collaborate with the king for the welfare of his kingdom. The right performance of the *puja*, the working of the *guthi*, are necessary to the well-being of the king, to his success, to his leadership. And many requests made by the monastery's administrative chief, the *manbhu*, end with these words: "it there is any trouble on the *guthi* land, how can we maintain the *guthi* of Ratannath and praise (*jaya manai*) the State (*Sarkar*)" (of. a letter of 1909 V. S., in Narharinath 2022: 483). And Sarkar answers, "we confirm this *guthi*, do the *puja* according to the tradition and praise us -*hamro jaya manau*-" (2022: 493).¹²

The Caughera or Ratannath *guthi* is composed of seven villages, the "*sat gau*"; among them five are in the Dang Valley and two in Deukhuri. it seems that they were given together, as they are always mentioned as a whole in the letters or edicts regarding the *guthi* (of. Narharinath 2022: 502, 507, 510, etc.). When were they granted to the monastery? The first retrenches I have found are dated after the Gorkha conquest, but, as they are edicts of confirmation, it means that the *guthi* was already in existence.¹³

This *guthi* is still managed by the Yogis of Caughera. It covers approximately 1,250 *bigha*, or 850 hectares, and includes: in Dang, in the Sawari *pargana* where Caughera is situated, the four villages of Uttar and Dakhin Amrai, Jalaura and Caghu in the Chilli *pargana*, the village of Dubicaur—in Deukhuri, the village of Ratanpur where the grass for the elephants of the monastery was collected, and the small town of Lamahi-Deupur (a new bazar which was in the beginning of the nineteenth century just a campsite, pal, for the Yogis in their journey to Devi Patan).

These villages plus two or three fields are listed in a *lal mohor* of 1883 V.S. (1826 A. D.) by the king Rajendra which says that he confirms a *lal mohor* made by his father in 1866 V. S. "The land given since the beginning

for the *dhuni pani* of Dang Caughera and all the taxes for the *dhupbatti* in Dang which have been collected till now, we maintain them, plus the *kar kathala*" (Narharinath 2022: 493).

Guthi as Delegation of Sovereignty: As R. Burghart has shown, "at the turn of the nineteenth century the king of Nepal saw himself as the autonomous lord or master of his territorial possessions and of the peoples who lives upon his land" (1987: 149). "In making a ritual gift—like in giving *guthi* land—he irrevocably alienated his pre-eminent right to enjoy and repossess the land" (1927: 250).

The land given in *guthi* to religious institutions or temples was granted forever in the documents, we see the importance of this idea of timelessness in the constant reference to a kind of eternity, "since the beginning, since former times, *aghdekhhi*," and regarding the future, a eternal curse is cast against any destroyer of the *guthi*.

Theoretically, only the king has the right to give land; but what happened is that some *birta* owners registered part of their *birta* as *guthi*, to preserve the lands from being sold by their heirs or requisitioned by the state (M. C. Regmi 1976:53). So in 1806, Bhimsen Thapa initiates a procedure of registration of all *guthis* led to the eviction of many non-royal *guthis* or *guthis* without documents (M. C. Regmi 1968, 4:65-73). But later on, Jang Bahadur attempts to settle the conflicts by restoring some *guthis*, provided that they were properly managed.¹⁴ We can see the importance, in this contest, of the *lal mohor* and *sanad* registering the donations; indeed, their mention is like leitmotiv throughout the nineteenth century documents. For instance, for the election of the new head of the monastery, the *pirsthapana*, it was then registered that the former *pir* had to deposit before the community not only all the goods of the temple but also all the documents, *lalmohor*, *rukka*, *sanad* (Narharinath 2022: 483, 513). And in many occasions, the administrative official summoned the *math manbhau* (administrative head): "come to our office with your *lalmohor*, *rukka*, *sanad*", and in the lawsuits, each party claimed that he was in possession of some edict.

These expropriations did not concern Caughera. Although its *guthi* lands had been given by a vanquished king and confirmed by an expelled one (Ranabhim of Sallyan), they are nevertheless confirmed by the Gorkha kings. And this is in accordance with the policy of conquest of Parihvi Narayan and his successors, who, putting forward their Hinduism, take on the spiritual patronage of their deities (Burghart 1987:265). And all the more in the case of Dang where the main deity Ratannath is the *cela* of their eponymous deity Gorakhnath.

In spite of their permanency, the *guthis* are, in the case of Ratannath, limited to one condition: the aim of their foundation is to maintain the cult. And the king, as a guarantor for the *dharma*, is the ultimate authority responsible for the right performance of this cult. He is thus entitled to ask for accounts, to make sure that the revenue from the land is really applied to what it was collected for. And, in what is a limitation to the monastery's autonomy, the *manbhu*, the Yogi in charge of the administration, is appointed by the king (or the prim minister). Take, for instance, the *rukka* of Jang Bahadur ratifying the succession between Bhaktinath Gosain and Hiranath in 1863 A. D. "Hiranath, we appoint you as *manbhau* starting from the year 21 harvest which is used for doing the *puja* in the Ratannath's temple; now do the *puja* according to Ratannath's tradition and praise the government" (Narharinath 2022:500). And later on in 1869: "Our greeting to *manbhau* Harinath of the Ratannath temple of Dang of Dang Caughera: as *manbhau* Hiranath is dead, we issue a *rukka* to appoint you as *manbhau* for maintaining the properties of the temple and doing the *puja* according to the ancient tradition" (2022:484).

But a much stricter control was exercised by the state on the administration of the *guthi*, and I was surprised to find a note, a *purji*, from the Dang *mal kacahari* (land revenue office) to the head Yogis of the Ratannath's temple, saying in 1886 A.D. "For everything which has been given (*cadhauna*), land, gold and silver silver, jewels and gems, you have to present a report every week; this order came from the Sallyan *adalat* ... if you fail to do it, you will be punished" (Narharinath 2022:484).

The revenue received by the monastery from the *guthi* land was of different kinds.¹⁵ First were the agricultural rents. In the case of Cughera, the fields were cultivated mainly by the Tharus, and according to G. Krauskopff (1989:45), at the beginning of nineteenth century, the enure was in favour of the tiller with the *potet* system (the tenant keeps all the harvest for himself but works for noting on a section of his land-owner's fields, 1 *bigha* for 5 or 7). But the situation became decreasingly favourable to the tenant and even worsened under the present system (since the sand reform of 1964) of *adhiya*, a sharing the harvest in half.

In addition to the rent, the *guthi* owner was entitled to collect various taxes. The *guthi* is *maphi*, free of taxes, which means that the tenants working on the *guthi* land have to pay these taxes either directly to the *guthi* owner, here the monastery, or indirectly to collectors or revenue officers who hand these taxes over to the *guthiyar*. These taxes include economical or commercial duties and judicial fines or fines for adultery or illicit sexual relationships.

So the king delegates to the monastery, or more precisely to the deity Ratannath, part of his proprietary rights and thus of his rights and duties regarding the people living in his realm.

But our documents show that the situation was not always clear, as these rights were frequently disputed. The tenurial autonomy of the monastery was actually limited, on one hand, by attempts from collectors or officials to increase their own revenues, on the other hand by the reluctance from the tenants or other villagers to abide by the rights or privileges of the monastery, which was then forced to call on the state to settle the dispute.

Conflicts with Collectors or with the State

Forced labor: *jhara*: Throughout the nineteenth century, we witness the same protest from Caughera over the imposition by state officials or collectors of compulsory labor on the people working for the *guthi*. According of the *maphi* or exemption status of the *guthi*, the State had waived its right and given to the Yogi *guthiyars* the right to exact unpaid labor or goods from their tenants. But several times the order of exemption had to be repeated.¹⁶

It seems that there were two cases of forced labor: on one side, the craftsmen (*kami*, *tamauta* of *sunar*) working for Ratannath and probably in charge of the making and repairing for the cult objects; on the other side, the tenants working on the *guthi* lands, in other words, the villagers of the seven *mauja*. Take two examples: a Sardar in a letter to the soldiers going to Dang to exact *goljhara* (forced labour on charcoal) in 1845 writes, "This year again, do not exact *goljhara* from three *kami* houses of Savari Gau, as they are employed for the Ratannath's *puja* and have been exempted forever" (Narharinath 2022:496); and in 1828 a letter to the soldiers in charge of imposing compulsory labor for the purpose of gathering wild elephants Narsingh Thapa writes, "do not impose it on the villages of the Ratannath's *guthi* as they are yearly exempted from tax"(2022:494).¹⁷

Among our documents the number of complaints and orders regarding the *jhara* and the troubles imposed on people is striking. Generally the order to stop bothering tenants is given to "*sipahi*" or to some "company" (for instance the "Bhavani company" under the Dafdar Khana Office (Narharinath 2022:499). M. C. Regmi (1971: 110, 178, 188) mentions the use of military forces to impose *jhara* but in the present case, I do not know if these terms refer to soldiers or simply to any "*piun*" or unskilled administrative employee.¹⁸ Anyhow, the "compulsory labor" seems to have been imposed with great harshness.

Conflict on Taxes: The documents give some examples of the normal procedures. In 1850 the Dittha in charge of collecting the *chapaiko rakam* (a tax on priting?) writes, "According to the tradition, the one who has to collect this tax from Ratannath's villages' territory, must order the making of an object. Therefore we order the making of a bowl in sandal wood which costs 24½ roupies and we offer it before the assembly" (Narharinath 2022: 497).

As M. C. Regmi (1967:46) writes, "Where the beneficiary was a temple, the proceeds [of State levies and taxes] were usually utilized to make ornaments for the deity." And although it created a lot of disputes and agruments, this was the case in Caughera, for what is called the crown levies, in other words, the levies used to finance the ritual celebrations of the royal family, thus : the *gadi mubarak*, for the royal coronation, the *goddhuwa*, for the marriage of the eldest royal princess, the *cumawan* for the sacred thread ceremony of the crown prince.¹⁹ In fact, these levies were sometimes used for very different purposes, for instance a *cumawan* was levied in 1810 to pay the troops in Kumaon (Regmi 1971:64). In theory everybody had to submit to this taxes, but *guthi* endowments could be exempted if the "deed has made an express provision to this effect" (Regmi 1967:46).

It was not the case for the Ratannath's *guthi*, which was therefore submitted to these crown levies. A long letter from Chandra Shamsher (in 1961 V. S.) answers a complaint made by the *manbhau* Durganath. Apparently until 1853 V. S. the tradition was to collect the levies and dedicate the amount to the making of jewels for Ratannath. But in 1853 V. S. a *goddhuva* was collected, but not conveyed to the temple. The same happened in 60 with a *cumavan*, and the *manbhau*, to his utmost indignation, was even arrested, "I, a man in ascetic garments, I have been put in jail for twenty days!" (Narharinath 2022:510). He lays a charge against the *mal adda*, and after some administrative procedures, Chandra Shamsher decides that half of the amount must be devoted to the making of jewels, and half given in a sealed parcel to the *pujari* and put in the Ratannath's treasure.

This privileged status had not been recognized when in 1855-56 A.D. Jang Bahadur decides to levy a special tax for financing the war with Tibet. According to M. C. Regmi (1967:38). "This levy amounted to three *manas* of grains per *muri* of land under all tenure form."²⁰ This *trikhandi* was collected from Caughera, as we know from a receipt, "*Trikhandi* for the year 11/12 V. S. has been collected from Manbhau Hiranath; its amount is 30 rp. 22 paisa" Narharinath 2022:498). But later in 1915 V.S. (1858 A. D.) the monastery seems reluctant to pay, and the chief of the Bhavani military

company threatens Hiranath, “You have not paid yet the *trikhandi*, we are sending *sipahi* with the *dittha* to collect the money” (2022:499).

Social Conflicts: Conflicts with the state took place not only on fiscal matters. We have also some instances of disputes about problems of pollution by food or sexual contact and thus about purification. And, of course, it had also a financial aspect, as the purification certificate was given for a fee paid to *dharmadhikar*.²¹

Take, for example, the *sarva candrayana*. *Candrayana* is a series of fasts made according to the lunar fortnight, but here it means a “fine paid to the *rajguru* by anyone who has conhabited with a woman of lower caste” (Turner [1931] 1980:591). It also means, according to Hodhson, “an expiatory ceremony performed by the whole city or kingdom in atonement for the commission of some heinous sin or uncleanness” (quoted in Marize 1980:146). But in our context it looks more like a yearly tax. For instance, there is a receipt from a Tharu head of *parganas* collecting 1942 V. S. *sarvacandrayan* from 40 Tharu houses; maybe the sexual misconducts were such that there was an agreement to collect the fee on a general lend?

Anyhow, like the taxes mentioned before, it has always been a tradition “to gave the *sarva candrayana* to Ratannath.” Thus, says a letter from 1947 V.S. Narharinath 2022:485), “regarding the villages of the *guthi*, it will be levied by the *Mabhau* and put in the Ratannath’s treasury.” But there were many conflicts in the past and, in 1951 V.S. the *dharmadhikar* wrote to the *manbhau* Hiranath, “We have sent the order to raise *sarve candrayana* on the Jogi of Kaulya village. The *sipahi* in charge of this collection came back with your reply that there was an exemption edict for the Yogis of your temple, signed by the *guru* of Sallyan and stating not to take any payment (*dastur*) from Srintath. Give your proof or you will be punished according to the law” (or precisely “prevent from water” 2022:499).

The question of purification is always troublesome in the relationships between Caughera and the royal authority. We have for instance, in 1851 AD the case of a contamination during feast (*bhandara*). In this *bhandara* in Sallyan, the Yogis of Caughera shared food with the Yogis of a village in Malneta. In this village, Mangali, the daughter of Baijanath Yogi had a sexual relationship with a Kami. The whole of the village, all the Yogis, then all the *bhandara* became polluted. The *dharmadhikar* wrote to Caughera, forbidding the Yogis to make the *puja* without *prayascitta*. The Caughera Yogis refused, “We don’t have to make *prayascitta*.” The *dharmadhikar* concluded, “In this affair of *prayascitta*, you cannot disobey. If you have any proof from Sri Nath, come and show it to me” Narharinath 2022:497).

Thirty years later, in 1885 AD. the *dharmadhikar* agrees to recognize the rights of Caughera to itself carry out the purification, "to be directly purified by Ratannath", as it is said in another case. The *dharmadhikr* writes, regarding another sexual misconduct, "Since the begining, for the Yogis from Ratannath's temple, the *pani apruva dastur* (i.e. the fee for water acceptance), is not given to the *dharmadhikar* but to the Ratannath's temple. Therefore, as Sobhi Jaisyani had hidden her relationship with Karvir Kami and as all people from pure castes have been contaminated by water, the Yogis have to pay the *dastur* to the Ratannath's temple" Narharinath 2022:508).

This acknowledgment by the *dharmadhikar*, therefore by the king, of the special rights of Caughera, leads to another conflict, but this time among the Yogis themselves. In 1770 A.D. Prithvi Narayan has given to a Sallyan Yogi, Bhagavantnath, and to his heirs, the *mandalai*, which includes among other privileges the right to benefit from the fees for illegal sexual relationships among the whole Yogi caste (cf. Bouillier 1991). Consequently the *mandalai* and the purificatory rights of Ratannath overlap (Narharinath, 2022:2,3,311).

This introduces another mode of relationship between the monastery and the state, as the state was requested to arbitrate the dispute.

The Caughera monastery, as holder of *Guthi* lands, is involved in conflicts, first with other landowners or villagers, secondly with the people living and working on the *guthi* lands. In these conflicts, the state acts as an arbitrator, as the ultimate authority.

Most of the problems with villagers close to the *guthi* land were water problems. I have seen at least 15 requests made by the *manbhaus* to the *subbas*, *subedars* and lately lately to the Rana Prime Ministers during their *sawari* (their hunting expedition in the Terai), and concerning troubles with irrigation channels (Narharinath 2022:495, 496, 504, 505, 507-9, 513). It should as if people were spending most of their time diverting or even destroying each others irrigation pipes. And always, the *manbaus* were complaining, "if they take the pipes out, our *guthi* land becomes dry, we cannot cultivate and there is no income to do the *puja*, tha we cannot bless the *sarkar*."

Other conflicts involve the *guthi* tenants, who do not want want to fulfill their obligations any more. Here again, the *manbhau* complains to the authorities. We have for instance letters of this kind, dated from 1809 A. D., a politically difficult period during which the tenants probably tried to evade their obligations, especially in portorage for the pilgrimage. The same happened recently in 1951, and we have a letter of commitment signed by the Tharus from the *guthi* villages, "We, tenants of the *guthi* recognize that in the beginning, we were doing the necessary work for *akhada dhuni*, we were

taking care of the journey to Sawarikot and Patandev We were not paying rent as it is the case on the *kraikar* land but were paying in kind and cash as it is the case on the *raikar* land but were paying in kind and cash as it is the case on the *birta*; for the kind, we gave what was necessary for the *puja* as it was written before. But this year we have eaten the fruit but we have been late to do the work for the journey. Today we recognized the facts and, from now on, we will do the work for Sri as usual, we will do what we are supposed to do in exchange for the land. If we do not, we will abandon the land" (Narharinath 2022: 496).

Conclusion

Here were some examples, from the documents published by Narharinath, of the relationship between the monastery of Caughera, its *guthi* endowments and the state. The tenurial autonomy and the sovereignty it implied were, nevertheless, submitted to limitations and to constant reinstatement. But since the foundation, or rather, the last period of the Dang autonomous *rajya*, until now, the monastery, its Yogis and the Ratannath's cult have succeeded in maintaining their spiritual and political preeminence, their out-worldly and in-worldly success.

An earlier version of this paper was presented in a symposium on "Sovereignty in the Himalayan region" held in the South Asian Institute of Heidelberg (June 1991), and then summarized for the Sociological and Anthropological Society of Nepal (SASON) conference held in Kathmandu in September 1992. I am grateful to the organizer and all the participants for their interesting and useful comments.

Notes

1. See a summary of the different legends in Unbescheid (21-24). The version presented here is adapted from Narharinath (2022: 516-17) and from the booklets published by the monastery. The legends related to Ratannath are also the themes of the paintings on the wall of the assembly hall. For a well documented comparison between Hindu and Sufi versions of the legend of Ratannath or Baba Ratan, see Horovitz (1914).
2. The motive of the hunt of a magical deer is quite common in Hindu tradition, but the context of the Ratannath legend seems more related to the Buddhist Tibetan tradition of the Milarepa's legends (cf. "The huntsman and the deer" in the Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa), and especially the moralistic discourse on *abimsa* told by the Siddha to the king (not quoted here). It was striking to find a similar story in a popular version of Milarepa's legend (Mumford 74).

3. The Yogis of Caughera undertake every year a pilgrimage to Devi Patan, a Devi sanctuary near the Indian town of Tulsipur (Balrampur District). They leave for one month, walking only during the night and staying fifteen days in Deokhuri. They arrive in Devi Patan for *chaitya* Dasai and there celebrate the worship of Ratannath and Patesvari Devi. It seems that this ritual journey through their territory was anterior to the exile of the former king of Dang in Tulsipur after the Gorkha conquest (cf. *passim*), since an edict dated from three years after this event (1789 A.D.) mentions the Yogi pilgrimage like something customary (Naciharinath 2022: 486).
4. Cf. Burghart (1984:111) quoting Vajracharya: "The movement of the court between seasonal capitals has been a Gorkhali custom since the founding of the kingdom by Dravya Sah".
5. The *patradev* or "divine recipient" is the ritual centre of the temple. Supposedly given to Ratannath by Gorakhanth, it is the *svarup*, the essential form of the deity. Resting on a high altar, covered with clothes and flowers, it is worshipped exclusively by the *pir*, the spiritual head of the monastery. Contrary to the duplication in some temples between *utsava* and *mula murti*, the *patradev* icon, carried from one residence to another, embodies the totality of the deity.
6. Kunwar is the name given to Yogis, mainly householders, who have not performed the last initiation rites and thus who do not wear the earrings.
7. On the antiquity of a Gorakhnathi influence and its remains in the Dang valley, see D.R. Sharma (1988).
8. Narharinath gives, in Nariharinath (2022: 486-491), a list of 120 documents related to Caughera and publishes the text of about half of them. Unfortunately, the edict mentioned here appears only in the list, under No. 13.
9. On administration, see B. Hodgson (1880); M.S. Jain (1972); M.C. Regmi (1978, 1988); D.W. Edwards (1975), J.C. Marize (1980).
10. D.R. Regmi adds a surprising remark, "In the time of Prithvi Narayan Shah Phalabang rose to rule over a large entity before Gorkha came into the scene".
11. We have traces of this, in a *tamapatra* from 1804 VS trying to define the borders of Dang and Sallyan, "Some people, claiming that Chillī is a different kingdom from Dang, had obtained a *lalmohor*. Then, after gathering 52 *lakhs* (sic) of people, it was established that Chillī had been annexed by Dang" (Nariharinath 2022: 408).
12. It is quite interesting to find the same type of relationship between the Yogis and the Moghols. Goswami and Grewal (1967) give many

documents on the land granted to the Jogis of Jakhbar (Punjab) as "*madad-i-ma'ash*" by the Moghol emperors; "significantly, the grantees were expected to 'remain occupied with praying for the permanene of the Conquering Dynasty' They all belonged to, what Jahangir called, 'the army of prayers'" (1967: 23).

13. Cf. an edict signed by both Rana Bahadur Shah and Bahadur Shah (Nariharinath, 659), thus from the period of regency, between 1785 and 1794. This is also the first mention of the term "*guthi*"; according to Regmi, the use of the term *guthi* to denote the religious and charitable land endowments, "probably started only after the Gorkhali conquests" (1976: 47).
14. See M.C. Regmi (1967: IV, 71-75) for the complex attitude of Jang Bahadur, desirous to "entrench the sanctity of the Guthi system" and at the same time to appropriate the surplus income of the land endowments (cf. also Regmi Research Series, 1979, 11, No. 5, p. 68).
15. Unfortunately Caughera *lalmohor* or inscriptions give far less details on the various tenurial privileges than the ones R. Burghart found in the Janakpurdham monasteries. See the list of exemptions in his thesis (1978: 171-72).
16. For the many examples of the "rapacity of tax collectors," see M.C. Regmi (1971: 72).
17. Another example of capture of wild elephants through compulsory labor, in Regmi (1971: 69).
18. I am thankful to A. Höfer who drew my attention to the different meanings of the term "*sipahi*." On the use of this term, as well as the one of Company, for non-soldiers employees, see Edwards (1975: 109-110).
19. *gadi mamarakh* or *mubarakh*, gift to "make the throne auspicious," *goddhuva* ("to wash the feet"), name of a rite in the marriage ceremony during which relatives and guests pay homage to the young couple and offer them some coins; *cumavan* or *cuvan*, from *cumvan*, "to embrace," is, according to Sharma's dictionary (1962: 325), "a fee to be paid for the *bratabandha* of the king (at this occasion, the people having the *darsan* of the king embraces his feet and makes a gift)."
20. Hence its name of *trikhandi*. But later on (1988: 48), Regmi writes, "The tax was collected at the flat rate of one-third of the total income, hence it was known as *trikhandi*," According to the amount paid by the monastery and also to the possibilities of the people, this second interpretation seems overestimated.

21. One of the Brahmane Rejaguru in charge of the application of the law relating to the purity rules. On this office, see Regmi Research Series, 1979, 11, 5 ff.

References

- Banerjee, A.K. 1962. *Philosophy of Gorakhnath*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass
- Bouillier, V. 1986. "La caste sectaire des Kanphata Jogi dans le royaume du Nepal: l'exemple de Gorkha", *B.E.F.E.O.*, LXXV: 125-176.
- _____. 1989. "Prêtres du pouvoir: les Yogis et la fonction royale". In V. Bouillier and G. Toffin (eds), *La Pretrise en Himalaya: Pouvoirs et Autorite*. Paris: Ed. de l'EHESS (coll. Pususartha n° 12), 193-213.
- _____. 1991 "The king and his Yogi: Prithvi Narayan Sah, Bhagavantnath and the unification of Nepal in the eighteenth century". In J.P. Neelsen (ed), *Gender, Caste and Power in South Asia*. Delhi: Manohar, 3-21.
- _____. 1991. "Growth and decay of a Kanphata Yogi monastery in south-west Nepal". *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 28, 2, 151-170.
- Briggs, G.W. 1938 / 1973. *Gorakhnath and the kanphata Yogis*. Delhi: Mitilal Banarsidass
- Burghart, R. 1978. "*The History of Janakpurdham. A Study of Asceticism and the Hindu Polity*", unpublished PhD thesis, University of London; SOAS.
- _____. 1984. "The Formation of the Concept of Nation-State in Nepal." *Journal of Asian Studies*, XIV, 1, 101-125
- _____. 1987. "Gifts to the Gods: Power, Property and Ceremniial in Nepal." In D. Cannadine and S. Price (eds), *Rituals of Royalty: Power and ceremonial in Traditional Societies*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 237-70
- Dasgupta, S. D. 1976. *Obscure Religious Cults*. Calcutta: Firma KLM

- Edwards, Daniel W. 1975. "Nepal on the Eve of the Rana Ascendancy", *Contribution to Nepalese Studies*, 2: 1, pp. 99-118.
- Goswami, B. N. and J.S. Grewal. 1967. *The Mughals and the Jogis of Jakhbar*. Simla: Idian Institute of Advanced Studies.
- Hamilton, F. Buchanam. (1819) 1971. *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*. Edinburgh: Archibald Constable, New Delhi: Manjusri.
- Hodgson, Brian H. 1880. *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*. Vol. 2. London: Trabner.
- Horovitz, J. 1914. "Baba Ratan, the Saint of bhatinda". *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, II: 2, 97-117.
- Jain, M. S. 1972. *The Emergence of a New Aristocracy in Nepal*. Agra: Shri Ram Mehra & Co.
- Krauskopff, G. 1989. *Maitres et Possedes, les rites et l'ordre social chez les Tharu*. Paris: Ed. du CNRS.
- _____. 1990. "Les Tharu et le royaume hindou de Dang". *L'Homme*, 116, XXX (4), 30-54.
- Manandhar, T. 1986. "Raja Ranabhim Shah of Salyan". Regmi Research Series, XVIII, 7. Marize, Jean-Clande. 1980. "Les Ranaet pouvoir 1846-1951 (The Ranas and power)". Thesis de troisieme cycle. Universite de Rouen, France.
- Mumford, S. R. 1989. *Himalayan Dialogue. Tibetan Lamas and Gurung Shamans in Nepal*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Narharinath Yogi. 2022. *V.S. Itihas Prakasma sandhipatrasamgraha*. Varanasi: Kalpana Press.
- N.D. *Yogi vamsavali*, Kasi, Goraksa Granthmala 87.
- Nevill, H. R. 1921. *Gonda, a Gazetteer*, Vol. XLIV. Allahabad: Government Press.
- _____. 1922. *Bahreish, a Gazetter*, Vol. XLV, Allahabad, Gvt Press.

Rajaure, D. 1981 "Tharus of Dang", *Kailash*, 8, 3-4, 155-181.

Regmi, D. R. 1975. *Moder Nepal*. Calcutta: K.L. Mukhopadhyay.

Regmi, M. C. 1967. *Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal*. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of International Studies.

_____. 1971. *A Study in Nepali Economic History: 1768-1846*. Delhi: Manjusri Publishing House.

_____. 1976. *Landownership in Nepal*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____. 1978 *Thatched Huts and Stucco Palaces*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House.

_____. 1988. *An Economic History of Nepal: 1846-1901*. Varanasi: Nath Publishing House.

Sharma, B. C. 1962. *Nepali Shabdakosh*. (Nepali dictionary) Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy.

Sharma, D. R. 1988. "Archaeological Remains of the Dang Valley". *Ancient Nepal*, 106, June-July 88, 9-12.

Turner, Ralph Lilley. (1931) 1991. *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., and New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Unbescheid, G. 1980. *Kanphata. Untersuchungen zu Kult. Mythologie und geschichte Sivaitischer Tantriker in Nepal*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

TWO NOTES ON MALLA CURRENCIES

Bernhard Kölver
Universität Leipzig
Germany

Published sources on Nepalese history testify to the existence of a currency which went by the name *navadammaśivakā*, its first well-known appearance being the Pim Bāhāl inscription of N.S.477-479, i.e. A.D.1357-9. Departing from this date, the latest comprehensive survey of the field of Nepalese coinage (RHODES, GABRISCH and VALDETTARO 1989) ascribes its introduction to the king ruling at that time: this was Jayarājadeva, dated 1347-61. The term itself is explained with reference to the older *śivakā* currency known since the eleventh century: presumably in contradistinction to this, the name is interpreted to mean 'new *damma śivakās*'¹.

In the light of the public and private documents which have recently been collected under the auspices of the NEPAL RESEARCH PROGRAMME, we have to modify this account in two respects.

(a) The currency itself is, in Newārī, styled *gun damma śivakā* (with a number of orthographical variants): the word *nava* in the Sanskrit name, then, is to be understood in the sense of 'nine' rather than 'new'. PETECH did consider this alternative², but thought is 'less likely'; the Newars of those days took it that way, and nobody will wish to question their reading.

(b) The date of its introduction is earlier than RHODES, GABRISCH and VALDETTARO had supposed: There is a loan³ dated N.S. 420 *caitra śu ddhi* 12, i.e. from A.D. 1300, which, in lines 1-2, reads

(1) *gun = dramma śivakā trayāṅka[tta]*⁴ *śivakā* 3.

This brings the *navadammaśivakā* up into the reign of the very king Anantamalla (N.S.394-427, i.e. A.D.1274-1307) whom the Gopālarāja-vaṃśāvali credits with the introduction of a new system of coinage using *dammās* (: *tena kṛta dammavyavahāreṇa prajā kaṣṭhābhavati* ed. VAJRĀCĀRYA and MALLA, fol.26^a5)—a corroboration of PETECH's carefully worded hypothesis positing a relation between this king and the new currency (p.201). In passing, one notices the *Vaṃśāvali* proves reliable in what is not an inessential detail.

It is, then, a *śivakā* of nine *dammās* which the Newārī (and the Sanskrit) name of the currency attests to.⁵

This was a considerable departure from the former system where a *pala*, *pla* (i.e. a *śivakā*) consisted of four *karṣas*. The attempts to get a clear grasp of the position are further complicated by the fact that the old terms continued to be in use. N.S.519 jyeṣṭha kṛṣṇa 3, line 2, names a sum as

(2) [gu] damma śivakā ḥ m=eka-[pl]ā[nika]ta ḥ pla 1,

i.e. it testifies to an identity between *śivakā* and *pla*, just repeating what we already know from the Pim Bāhāl inscription⁶.

For the next lower unit, we have two names, *karṣa* and *damma*. As for *karṣas* continuing to be used even after *dammās* had been introduced, see, e.g., N.S.499 māgha śukla 6, lines 2-3:

(3) gun=damma śivakā dvaya kraṣāṅkata [ḥ] krarṣa 2, etc.

The materials available until now do not allow us to say whether in the *navadammasivakā* currency a *karṣa* continued to keep its old value of a quarter *pala* = *śivakā*, or whether it is just a survival of the old term, being used as a synonym for the *damma*, i.e. one ninth of a *pala*. Until now, I know of only one piece of relevant evidence which, taken by itself, might point to the former solution. This is two loans separated by about 20 years, viz., the N.S.499 and N.S.519 documents just referred to. In 499, the sum borrowed is 2 *karṣas* and the yearly interest to be paid for this sum is 4 *paṃ* (i.e. *pāthū*) of paddy; the respective figures in 519 are 1 *pala* and 8 *paṃ*. On the hypothesis of the *karṣa* being a quarter *pala*, this leads to a neat proportion of 1 : 2: i.e. interest would be charged at the same rate. But basing a conclusion on this pair alone won't really do: from N.S. 500 or a bit later⁷, we have a loan which charges 2 (or 2.5⁸) *paṃ* for 10 *śivakās*; fluctuations of interest rates were considerable especially when paid in agricultural produce where dearth or abundance affects prices.

And one could plead against a persistence of the old *karṣa* valuation by pointing to the N.S.477 portion of the Pim Bāhāl inscription. Its lines 14-15 record a donation of *navadamma(śi)vakā dāma traya karṣāṅka karṣatrayaṃ*⁹, which *prima facie* does suggest an identity of *dāma* and *karṣa*¹⁰. But again, the text is not as clear as one would wish: if *dāma* was used in the generic meaning of 'coin', a possibility which cannot be positively ruled out, we would be left with *karṣas* equated with *karṣas*¹¹. Materials like the documents eventually ought to provide an answer.

An odd clause in a private document written during Yakṣamalla's reign raises a second problem of currency which is still far from a solution; since, however, it has not to my knowledge been hitherto recognized, I shall present it in outline.

It arose when dealing with a document from N.S.588, i.e. A.D.1468. This records a loan of a sum of 6 *dama*[*m*], taken by a Citrakār (*cetrakāra*). It is a bit unusual in that it covers quite a long span of time. The text itself consists of two parts: the earlier one, A, from N.S.588 jyeṣṭha śukla 15, is a re-writing of a loan taken at some previous date; the later one, B, dated N.S.606 phālguna kṛṣṇa 6, extends it, with no duration given, and expressly stating 'the interest of this figure (i.e. sum) has been entirely cleared, *thva aṅkasa klamtra sarvva sodhana dhumgva* (B1-2)'.

It is in the former part that one meets with a phrase for which I cannot quote a parallel:

- (5) *kāyesa purāna dāma ḥ prate hñathya [guṃ] dāma pata ka [hñyaṇa]na udārāpa tayā ḥ* (line A3-A4), i.e. 'When taking, *purāna dāma* (are to be accepted) as settlement. The loan is being extended/continued¹², the former document (in) *guṃ dāma* being taken and invalidated'.

prate, *pratye* etc., i.e. Skt. *pratyaya*-, is the word commonly used in loans to mean the settlement of a debt, i.e. its repayment. This, the loans formula usually stipulates, is to be effected in the currency in which the loan was taken: the normal text runs *sāyesa ... ṭaṃkā* [or designation of some other currency] *prate*, 'when being proffered, ... *ṭaṃkā* coins (are to be accepted) as settlement'. I take the wording of (5) as a mere variant of this: in view of N.S.580, to be quoted presently, *kāyesa* for *sāyesa* may be nothing but a slip of the pen.

What is remarkable in the first place is the clause itself, in its normal form: it betrays some uncertainty as to currencies in public consciousness—an uncertainty which in the present state of our knowledge¹³ does not seem fully warranted: the changes that we know about are not all that frequent. Yet the sentence warns us to as it were be generally on the alert for innovations in this field. And the clause quoted as (5) seems to provide an instance.

It refers to a former loan in what the present document calls the *gun dāma* currency; the renewal stipulates the use of a different one which went under the name of *purāna dāma*. And from the same period there is a second scroll, less definite in wording, which points to the same direction. In N.S.580 *jyeṣṭha kṛ* 4, the *sāyesa* clause runs (lines 3 and 6)

- (6) *sāyesa dāma <thava desayā mālva> pratye*, i.e. 'the repayment is necessary (in the currency) of the (debtor's/creditor's) own region'¹⁴—

in other words, there was another currency afloat which in theory the debtor might have chosen. Surely it is not far-fetched to suppose this was the *purāna dāma* attested in the N.S.588 piece.

Till now, this coin seems to be unknown. The years 580 and 588 fell into the times of Yakṣamalla who, after a reign of more than half a century, died in the year N.S.602 (A.D. 1482). Among his many achievements, none of the chronicles etc. mentions a currency reform. And indeed the *gun=damma śivakā* was used during his reign: apart from the instance quoted as (5), there are others like N.S.572, line 2:

- (7) *gun=damma śivakā pañc[ā]dammāddhika ḥ caturaśivakāṅka ḥ śivakā 4 damma 5—*

a wording which follows the style customary in *gun=damma śivakā* money¹⁵.

This text in one's ear, one notices what may be a significant departure in one of Yakṣamalla's famous documents, viz., the well-known inscription of N.S.573 concerning the building of the Bhaktapur wall and regulating its maintenance. Towards its end, it lays down fines for various trespasses that might do it damage. All of them are fixed in what is transcribed¹⁶ as *dāma* (line 26) or *damma* (lines 29, 34, 35), and the sums include one of 12 (line 26) and one of nine (line 34). To go by common sense and, indeed, by the style of (7), one would have expected them to be expressed by means of the larger unit if this had been the currency employed.

No doubt, these are three pieces of evidence decidedly minor; yet each

of them is not readily explained within the *gun damma śivakā* system. One wonders whether in the course of the manifold measures to re-organize his kingdom Yakṣamalla also introduced changes in coinage. The term itself of course reminds one of the *paṇa purāṇa* currency which was used until the twelfth century: was it a intentional revival of older times? Perhaps the phrase *thva desayā* of (6) is a clue: it would make sense if the confusion of Yakṣamalla and his co-regents had at some time found a territorial solution, with one of these parts striking coins of its own.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS referred to¹⁷:

Date	NGMPP Reel No.	
N.S.420 <i>caitra śu</i> 12	E 2032/23	(1)
N.S.499 <i>māgha śu</i> 6	A 856/27	(3)
N.S.*500 ¹⁸	A 856/21	(4)
N.S.519 <i>jyeṣṭha kṛ</i> 3	E 465/33	(2)
N.S.572 <i>vaiśākha śu</i> 6	E 2095/23	(7)
N.S.580 <i>jyeṣṭha kṛ</i> 3	E 2945/12	(6)
N.S.588 <i>jyeṣṭha śu</i> 15	A 855/29	(5)

Notes

¹ The Coinage of Nepal from the earliest times until 1911, p.52ff.

² History of Mediaeval Nepal, 1984², p.201.

³ Published by M. R. PANT: cf. his paper *Tāḍapatramā lekhiakā, ahilesamma prakāśmā naāekā, vikramako caudhaurṁ śatābdīkā 15 vaṭā likhatpatra*. In: *Pūrṇimā* 77, Kathmandu 2047 [V.S.], p.6: he reads *trayāṇikaka*.

⁴ Uncertain readings are enclosed in brackets [].

⁵ The interpretation of *nava* as 'nine' would seem to be confirmed by the amount of interest charged in this loan: *tasya varṣam = prati kalantara śivakā prati da 2* 'the interest of this is 2 *da* per *śivakā* per year': this works out at an annual rate of 22.22%, which is quite within the usual range. See also (7), below: a wording which makes sense only with the larger unit consisting of more than five pieces of the lower.

⁶REGMI, *Medieval Nepal* 3, pp.19ff., prints the relevant portions as *navadammaśivakā trayāṅkata pta 3 [...]* *navadammaśivakā pta 3 iti* (lines 21ff.): *pta* of course is *pla*.

⁷The document in question, (4)(NGMPP A856/21), is fragmentary, and no trace of its date preserved. The creditors, though, come from the same *bāhāl* as those of N.S.499, and the personal names of the *bāhāl* officials are in part identical.

⁸The figure 2 is followed by a double *daṇḍa*, and one cannot tell whether this is to be read as a punctuation mark or as ½.

⁹Quoted from Bh. PAUDEL, Dh. VAJRĀCĀRYA, Jñ. NEPĀLA: *Mahāpātra-śrī-meghapālavarmanah śilālekhaḥ*. In: *Saṃskṛta-sandēśaḥ* 1 (10-12), Kathmandu 2010, pp.10-13.— REGMI (*Medieval Nepal* 3, p.20) and PETECH (*Mediaeval history*, p.201) read *dāma*.

¹⁰This is how PETECH translates it: *loc. cit.*, p.201.

¹¹The solution would not seem to lie in *dāmas* (if this is the correct reading: see Note 9) being distinguished from *dammas*: at least in N.S.588, to be quoted presently, they clearly are identical.

¹²lit.: the loan is kept being taken: *taye* used to mark the continuation.

¹³as codified in RHODES et al., *The coinage of Nepal*, p.55

¹⁴The words enclosed in < > are added underneath the completed text, the place of insertion marked by a *kākapada* in place of an effaced *akṣara*: the scribe apparently used this mistake to add the sign of insertion, though the codicil should have come after rather than before *pratyē*.

¹⁵It incidentally proves at least this *damma* was not identical with the *karṣa* four of which made up a *pala*.

¹⁶I am using the text printed in D.R. REGMI: *Medieval Nepal* 3, pp.73ff.

¹⁷Photographs of these documents can be found in NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Kathmandu, under the NGMPP Reel No.

¹⁸Date approximate: see above, note 7.

REFERENCES

The GOPĀLARĀJAVAMŚĀVALĪ (ed. and transl. by) Dh. VAJRĀCĀRYA and K. P. MALLA. Wiesbaden 1985. (Nepal Research Centre Publications. 9.)

M. R. PANT: Tāḍapatramā lekhiēkā, ahilesamma prakāsmā naāēkā, vikramako caudhaum śatābdīkā 15 vatā likhatpatra. In: Pūrṇimā 77 (Kathmandu 2047 [V.S.]), pp.1-14.

Bh. PAUḌEL, Dh. VAJRĀCĀRYA, Jñ. NEPĀLA: Mahāpātra-śrī-meghapālavarmanāḥ śilālekhaḥ. In: Saṃskṛta-sandēśaḥ 1 (10-12), Kathmandu 2010, pp.10-13.

L. PETECH: Mediaeval history of Nepal (c.740-1482). Roma 1984². (Serie Orientale Roma. 54.)

D.R. REGMI: Mediaeval Nepal. 1-4. Calcutta, Patna 1965-66.

N.G. RHODES, K. GABRISCH and C. VALDETTARO Pontecorvo della Rocchetta: The coinage of Nepal from the earliest times until 1911. London 1989. (Royal Numismatic Society. Special Publication. 21.)

CHILDREN AND MOTHERS AT RISK FOR DIARRHEAL DISEASE IN NEPAL

**Sandra L. Laston
Debra A. Schumann
Robert E. Black
Dilli R. Dahal**

Introduction

Diarrheal disease remains one of the primary causes of death in children under 5 in developing countries. Understanding the many causes of this cluster of diseases is vital if intervention programmes for the promotion of maternal and child health are to be effective.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the role of hygiene and food related behaviors, nutritional status and age as risk factors for diarrheal disease in preschool children and their mothers in Nepal.

The objectives of this paper are to: (1) identify risk factors for diarrheal disease, (2) examine the pathways through which the risk factors affect diarrheas rates, and (3) determine areas for intervention based on the results of the first two objectives.

The data for this study were collected between July, 1989, and January, 1990, in 3 villages located in the eastern Kathmandu Valley of Nepal.

Information was obtained by household and included demographic data for all household members, monthly anthropometric measurements of children, twice weekly diarrhea occurrence for all household members and twice monthly behavioral observations of each household's focal child.

The study sample was comprised of 349 high caste Hindu children who were four years of age or less. This sample was stratified by age of the child, economic status of the household and number of siblings. Each child's diarrheal status as well as that of other household members was recorded twice weekly. Measurements of height and weight and dietary histories were obtained each month for each child.

A structured observation protocol was developed to permit rapid categorization of behaviors and to maximize comparability of data from different observers. This protocol was developed following key informant

interviews and three two-hour unstructured observation periods in nine non-study households.

During the six month study period, one focal child per each of the 349 study households was observed for ninety minutes twice a month, providing twelve observation periods during various times of the day. The occurrence of risk behaviors and information about direct contacts including duration of contacts, number of contacts and relationship of the contact individual were recorded for each ninety minute observation.

The risk behaviors addressed during the study are presented in Appendix 1. The risk behaviors associated with hygiene included handwashing activities and the dirtiness of the focus child. Environmental factors recorded were the presence of stool on the floor, flies observed on the child, the presence of a pit latrine and the stabling of animals in the house. Ingestion risk variables included placing fingers or objects in the mouth and eating leftover food or food that had fallen on the floor. Risk scores were computed for the sample children by averaging the risk scores for the two observations in each of the six study months and then summing the averages for the total study period. This provided an overall risk score for each behavioral variable during the study.

Results

From the diarrhea surveillance data, the incidence or number of new episodes of diarrhea ranged from 0 to 8 episodes per child table. 28.9% of the sample had no diarrhea during the 6 month study while 23.2% had one episode. Diarrhea was defined as 4 or more loose or watery stools per day. At least four diarrhea free days were required before a diarrhea day could be classified as the start of a new episode.

The prevalence of diarrhea among the focal children during the six month study period was highest near the beginning of the study, during the final months of the monsoon season (table 2). 49.4% of the focal children experienced at least one episode of diarrhea in August while only 10.4% had an occurrence in January.

The occurrence of diarrhea in the mothers of the 349 study children was also highest during the month of August. Mothers in nearly 5% of the households reported at least one occurrence of diarrhea in August while less than 1% reported diarrhea in January (table 3).

While there seems to be some association between the levels of education and diarrhea episodes for the sample children, the relationship is not linear (table 4). T-tests determined that the difference between the average number of episodes of diarrhea for the levels of education for the mother and father were not statistically significant.

The differences between maternal and paternal education and average diarrhea incidence may be related to the significant disparity in male and female educational levels. 73.9% of the mothers were uneducated while only 19.8% of the fathers had no education. Another explanation may be that maternal and paternal educational levels affect the diarrhea incidence of children through different mechanisms. Maternal education is related more to direct care of the child and hygienic practices of the mother. Educated fathers may be more perceptive of possible areas of contamination in the household environment and try to improve the families living conditions (build latrines, stable).

Although education was not significantly related to diarrhea incidence, associations between maternal and paternal education and household income and the behavioral risk variables were recorded (table 5). All three of the socioeconomic variables were related to the dirtiness of the child and whether the child put dirt or their fingers in its mouth. The associations were negative indicating that in households with higher educational levels and income, the children were less often observed engaging in higher risk ingestion behaviors. Maternal education was negatively associated with more ingestion behaviors. The level of the mother's education was also associated with handwashing but in an unexpected positive direction. This suggests that less educated mothers were more likely to wash their hands. It may be that uneducated mothers may perceive increased contamination in their environment and wash their hands more frequently as a result. Group T-tests indicated the presence of pit latrine and the stabling of animals in the house were significantly related to household income and the levels of parental education.

Multivariate analysis of the data required the use of Poisson regression. The distribution of the counted outcome variable, number of diarrhea episodes, was appropriate for Poisson regression analysis.

Only children with observation data available for each study month in the sample summed scores for the risk variables for the study period were included in these analyses. The number of cases available for the total six month period of analysis was 292.

Variables (indirect determinants) that were entered in the equation to test for possible confounding effects included caste status and village of residence. None of the variables were determinants of diarrhea incidence. As previously discussed, the education levels of the mother and father were not significant determinants of diarrhea incidence in the multivariate analysis.

The sample children in the analysis results presented in table 6 included 170 children with at least one sibling from four to ten years of age residing in the household. The occurrence of diarrhea in a sibling and the duration of

sibling holding were strong determinants in this model. The nutritional status and age of the child were also significant.

In the regression results for the individual risk variables age is again significantly associated with a decrease in diarrhea incidence, while nutritional status approaches the level of significance ($p = .068$) (table 7). The dirtiness of the child and putting fingers in the mouth are both significant determinants of diarrhea incidence. The dirtier the child appeared during the observation periods, the greater the number of diarrhea episodes. A child's appearance or dirtiness may indicate direct contact with dirt, putting dirty hands in the mouth, as well as the quality of caretaking. Handwashing before cooking was significantly related to incidence but in a negative direction. Over 90% of the cooks observed washed their hands before food preparation. Handwashing involved pouring water over the hands without the use of soap, ash or mud. Only 2% of the cooks washed their hands with soap. Merely rinsing the hands before food preparation is not sufficient for a significant reduction in the number of pathogens on the hands.

Because age was consistently a strong determinant for diarrhea incidence, separate regressions were conducted for study children under the age of two at the beginning of the study period and children over two years of age. Among children under two years for diarrhea incidence during the total study period, age remains a significant determinant, possibly due to risks associated with the introduction of weaning foods in the child's diet (table 8). If an adult in the household was observed putting her finger in the child's mouth, there was a negative association with diarrhea incidence ($p = .005$). Although one would expect an increase in diarrhea incidence, the pacifying effect of a adult putting her finger in the mouth of a fretful child may be an indication of increased adult attention or quality of caretaking. There was a negative relationship between handwashing by the cook and increased incidence, as discussed previously. For these younger children, a significant determinant was the foodgiver washing their hands before handfeeding the child. These younger children were more likely to be handfed by other household members by virtue of their age. Because utensils are not used for feeding the child, handwashing by the foodgiver (even if it's only a water rinse) is important in decreasing diarrhea incidence.

For older children over the age of two years nutritional status is an important determinant of diarrhea incidence ($p = .006$) (Table 9). More of the ingestion variables are significantly associated with diarrhea incidence in these children compared to the younger sample. Eating leftover food, putting fingers in the mouth and the siblings putting their fingers in the child's mouth were all significant determinants of incidence. If the child was observed putting objects in its mouth, there was a negative association

(decrease) with incidence. It may be that the older children were observed putting in their mouth were not highly contaminated. Cleanliness was also a significant determinant ($p = .010$) of diarrhea incidence in the older children, who were more likely to be walking and playing further from the house and courtyard area.

For the mothers of the children during the study period, handwashing by the cook was associated with decreased diarrhea risk in the mother. The importance of handwashing determining diarrhea for the mothers may suggest a complex of hygienic behaviors in the household that provide a greater protective effect for adults than for the younger children.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The policy implications and recommendations based on this research include:

1. Hygiene Education: The handwashing variable in this study provided ambiguous relationships with diarrhea morbidity. One explanation may be that rinsing hands with water is insufficient in a heavily contaminated environment, especially if the water is also contaminated. A study in Bangladesh (Hoque and Briend 1991) found that handwashing with mud or ash was as efficient as soap in pathogen reduction. Ash is readily available in all village households from the cook stoves and there is little risk of fecal contamination. Ash is often used to wash dishes after meals but not as frequently for handwashing. This low cost (no cost) method of handwashing could be emphasized to the mothers, grandmothers and sibling caretakers by the village health workers in the local schools, village clinic and during household visits.

2. Child Caretaking: The ingestion behaviors of the child are important areas of education for both mothers and siblings. Bamboo cribs are available for young children (infants) that elevate them from the contamination that may be present on the floor. Encouraging caretakers to keep the older children off the dirt floor or place them on a bamboo mat whenever possible should provide some protection. Caretakers should also be reminded to pick up objects, food or dirt from the floor to prevent the young child from putting these items in his/her mouth. Caretakers should be encouraged to wash the crawling child's hands frequently, with ash if possible, to decrease the pathogens present when the child puts his/her fingers in his/her mouth.

3. Food Preparation: It is important to stress to food preparers that meals, particularly weaning foods, should be freshly cooked and immediately consumed. The risk of food contamination is very high in developing

countries and the lack of firewood often forces the storage of cooked food for later consumption. If cooked food must be stored it should be covered to prevent further contamination by flies or fingers.

4. Education and Nutritional Status: The nutritional status of the children in this study remained a strong determinant of diarrhea incidence after controlling for household and environmental factors. Maternal education may be more effective for improving the nutritional status of children than the current government emphasis on food production. Studies in Bangladesh indicate that parental education is a determinant of the quality of the diet and the nutritional status of children. The present study found that maternal and paternal education were significantly related to the nutritional status of the children controlling for the effect of income. The importance of education should be stressed, particularly for young girls in the village and nutrition education (weaning food preparation) made available through the village health workers.

5. Education and Diarrhea Incidence: The important relationship between parental education and the health of children is apparent in the diarrhea morbidity as well as nutritional status, as described above. In this study, the level of education operates through the environmental factors to affect diarrhea incidence rates. This relationship remained significant after controlling for the effect of household income. The results of this study and previous research indicate that education must be addressed to achieve lasting improvements in both nutritional status and diarrhea morbidity. The interaction of nutritional status and diarrhea may be affected, jointly, through long-term education policies.

Promoting education at the household and community level for the preceding recommendations can provide a low cost (monetary and time investment) intervention scheme. Some of the behavioral interventions seem rather obvious, but reminders of the risk associated with putting dirty fingers in the child's mouth may be necessary to decrease pathogen transmission in the household members. The mothers in the research villages are receptive to ideas or interventions that protect their children, especially low cost, intra-household strategies under their control.

In conclusion, any planned intervention must involve the household members in the design of what they perceive as important to the health of their children. Outlining the specific behaviors that are determinants of diarrhea in the children encourages family involvement. As their understanding of the linkages between behavior and illness increases, their role as a health promoter for their child provides the incentive to induce behavioral changes.

Appendix 1

HYGIENE VARIABLES

Dirtiness of focus child
Child's hands washed before a meal
Hand washed before handfeeding child
Cook's hands washed before meal preparation

ENVIRONMENT VARIABLES

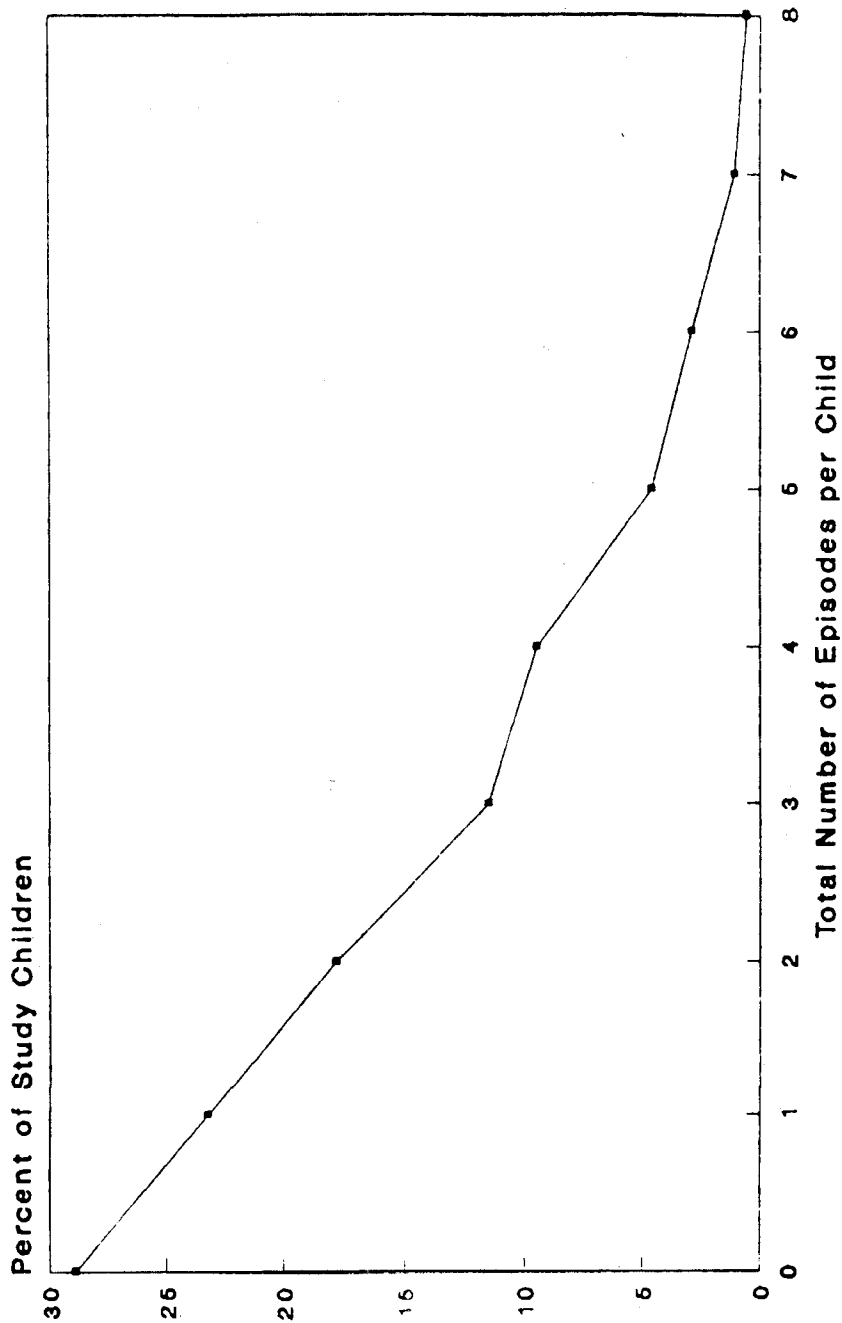
Animals stabled in house
Presence of a pit latrine
Flies on the focus child
Stool observed on the floor

INGESTION VARIABLES

Child ate food not freshly prepared
Child observed putting dirt in mouth
Child ate food that fell on the floor
Child put object in mouth
Child, adult or sib put finger in child's mouth

TABLE 1:

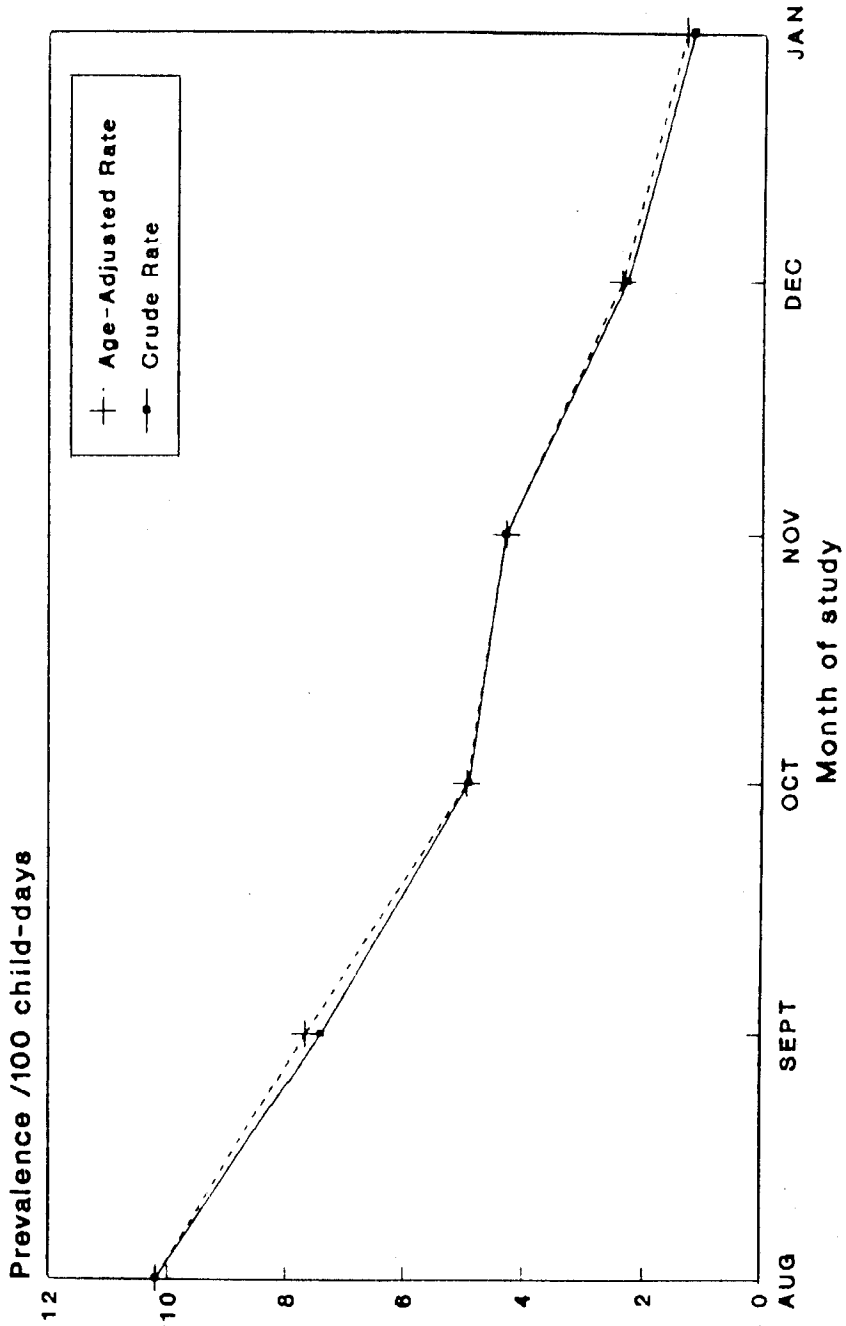
NUMBER OF DIARRHEA EPISODES
FOR SAMPLE CHILDREN



AUGUST 1989 THROUGH JANUARY 1990

TABLE 2:

DIARRHEA PREVALENCE (PER 100 CHILD-DAYS) BY MONTH OF STUDY



CRUDE AND AGE-ADJUSTED RATES
AUGUST 1989 THROUGH JANUARY 1990

TABLE 3:

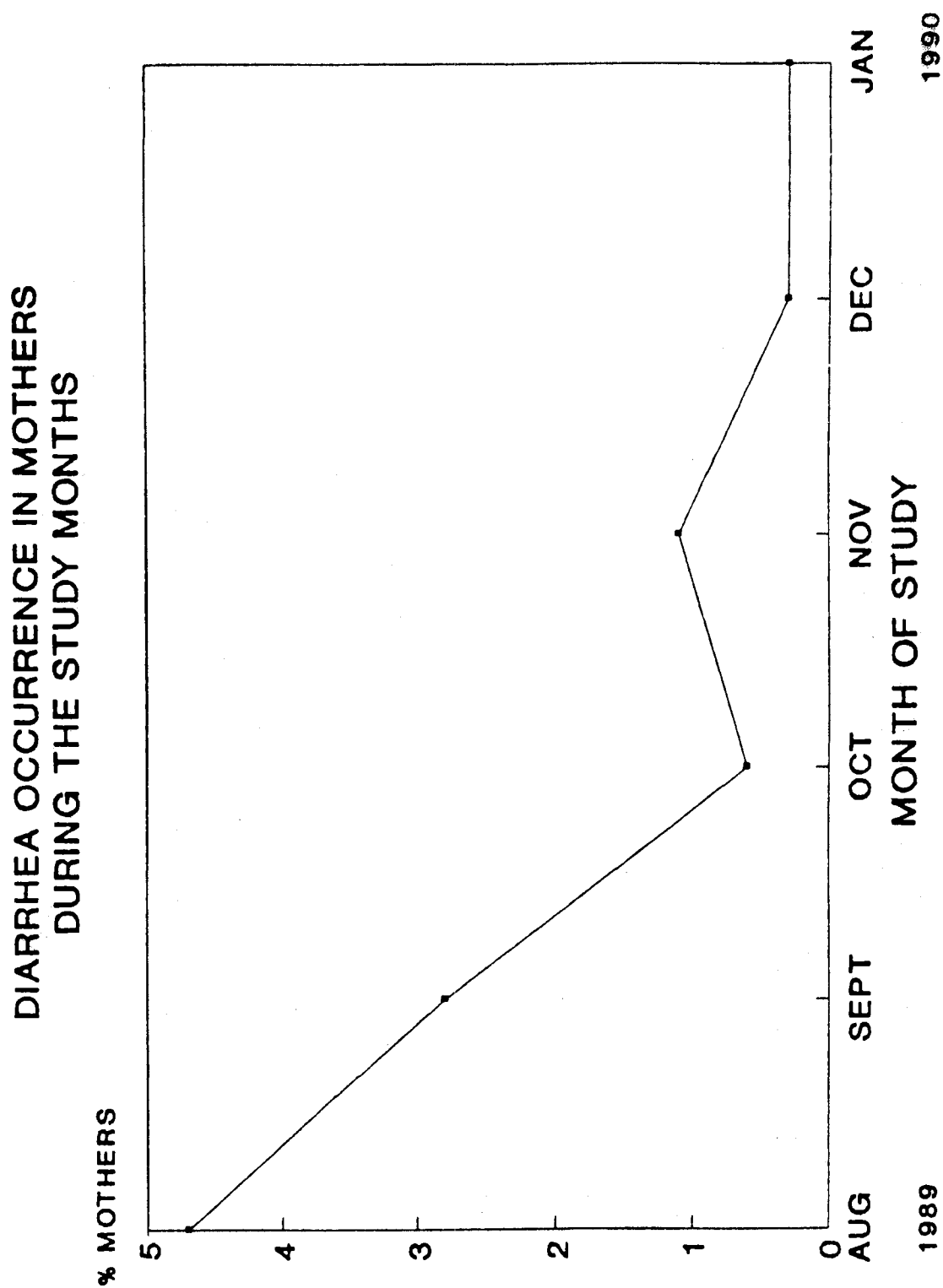


Table 4: T-test results for the average number of diarrhea episodes by parental educational levels (n = 349)

	Average Diarrhea Episodes			Level of Signif.
	Mean	St. Dev.	T Value	
MOTHER:				
no education (73.9%)	1.89	1.79		
			1.72	.100
1 - 5 years (5.2%)	1.33	1.28		
			-1.19	.242
6 years or more (20.9%)	1.78	1.92		
			.43	.671
FATHER:				
no education (19.8%)	1.61	1.61		
			-.91	.374
1 - 5 years (4.6%)	2.06	1.84		
			.38	.709
6 years or more (75.6%)	1.88	1.84		
			-1.22	.225

Table 5: Significant correlations between household income, parental education and scores for risk behaviors during study period. (Pearson correlation coefficient)

	Monthly Income Education	Maternal Education	Paternal
Dirtiness of child	-.2260**	-.2894**	-.2326**
Hands washed before handfeeding		.1401*	
Hands washed after touching stool		.1277*	
Child's hands washed before meal		.1278*	
Child puts dirt in mouth	-.1196*	-.1102*	-.1071*
Child puts fingers in mouth	-.1436*	-.2454**	-.1799*
Adult puts finger in child's mouth	-.0973*		
Sibling puts finger in child's mouths		-.1266*	
Child puts object in mouth		-.1006*	

* = $p < .05$ ** = $p < .001$

Table 6: Poisson regression: Relationship of diarrhea incidence with diarrhea occurrence in siblings and duration of sibling holding (n = 170).

Variable	Beta Coefficient	P- Value	Rate Ratio
Intercept	-5.312	<.001	.0049
Weight- for- age Z score (August)	-.1200	.033	.8870
Age in months	-.0214	<.001	.9788
Sibling with diarrhea	.5339	.001	1.700
Duration of Sib holding (in minutes)	.0447	.021	1.046

degrees of freedom = 165

Table 7: Poisson regression: Relationship of diarrhea incidence with risk variables, age and nutritional Status of children over 2 years.

Variable	Bate Coefficient	P- Value	Rate Ratio
Intercept	-6.449	<.001	.0016
Weight- for- age Z score (August)	-.2094	.006	.8111
Eats leftover food	.0904	.012	1.095
Sibling puts fingers in child's mouth	.4686	.007	1.598
Child's puts fingers in mouth	.0659	.031	1.068
Child puts object in mouth	-.1473	.006.	.8631
Clean liness of child	.0415	.010	1.042

degrees of freedom = 136

Tabl 8: Logistic Regression results for Diarrhea Occurrence in Mothers

Variable	Coefficient	Odds Ratio	Significance
MOTHERS:			
Cook's hands Washed before meal preparation	1.0949	2.724	.002
Constant	-3.668	.0255	<.001
Likelihood ratio statistic = 181.332, P <.001			

Table 9: Poisson regression: Relationship of diarrhea incidence with risk variables, age and nutritional status for the total suduy period, august 1989 through January 1990.

Variable	Beta Coefficient	P-Value	Rate Ratio
Intercept	-4.718	<.001	.0893
Age (August)	-.0218	<.001	.9784
Weight / age Z- score (August)	-.0762	.068	.9267
Cleanliness of child (Aug.- Jan.)	.0307	.002	1.031
Child puts fingers in mount	.0374	.049	1.038
Cook washes hands (Aug. - Jan.)	-.1519	.046	.8590
degress of freedom = 292			

Table 10: Poisson regression: Relationship of diarrhea incidence with risk variables, age and nutritional status for children under 2 years.

Variable	Beta Coefficient	P- Value	Rate Ratio
Intercept	-3.940	<.001	.0195
Age (August)	-.0335	<.001	.9671
Adult fingers in mouth	-.1899	.005	.8271
Cooks hands washed	-.2284	.021	.7958
Hands washed before hand- feeding child	.0577	.045	1.059

degrees of freedom = 153

THE RELATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL EXPOSURE IN ESL DEVELOPMENT

Yener Gülmez

Tej. B. Shresta

Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Gaziantep University

Turkey

Introduction

Second language acquisition specialists all over the world are familiar with generations of students who, despite having spent ten, twelve or fifteen years in classes learning a second language, emerge as non-functioning adults in second language performance, especially with respect to oral performance. On the other hand, countless number of cases of second language learners can be cited who have learned to use the second language with ease and facility without ever going to school. They seemed to have acquired this skill virtually in the street, far from the classroom.

These apparently contradictory cases represent two different approaches to second language development. The first group represents the formal group that learns the second language through formal classroom instruction and the second group represents the informal group that learns the second language through informal natural exposure.

There seems to be no clear-cut superiority of one approach over the other as far as ESL development is concerned. One group of literature indicates that formal classroom instruction does indeed help in developing ESL proficiency (Krashen and Seliger, 1975; Krashen, 1976; Krashen and Seliger, 1976; Krashen, Jones, Zelinski, and Usprich, 1978; Briers, 1978; Chihara and Oller, 1978; Bialystock, 1979; Pica, 1983; Long, 1983). The other group of literature points out that formal classroom instruction does not make any significant contribution to ESL development, especially when opportunities to practice it exist outside the classroom (Upshur, 1968; Hale and Brudar, 1970; Mason, 1971; Martin, 1980; Kadià, 1989).

The Study

The main purpose of the present study was to investigate how formal classroom instruction and informal natural exposure operate in the context of second language development, especially with reference to the development of oral proficiency in English as a second language.

The significance of the study lies in the fact that the field study was conducted in Nepal which provides a unique opportunity for this kind of study. It is one of the few countries in the world where there exist possibilities for people to learn English through their exposure to mutually exclusive formal and informal language learning environments. One can identify people whose ESL proficiency can be attributed without doubt to either a formal language learning experience or an informal natural exposure.

Therefore, this study explored the following research question:

Were there significant differences between formal classroom instruction and informal natural exposure in the development of oral proficiency in English as a second language as measured by a holistic scoring method, errors in grammar and structure, fluency in speech, and extent of vocabulary used.

Method

Subjects: The subjects included two groups of people who learned English in two different ways. They were selected on the basis of a simple random sampling method which gives an equal opportunity for every member of a population to be represented in the sample of the study. The procedure adopted was to write on a piece of paper names or numbers of every member of a population group, such as a classroom at a school for the selection of formal subjects or a trekking agency or similar other gathering place for the selection of informal subjects. These slips of papers were placed in a container and about ten percent of those names were drawn to be represented as samples.

The first group of subjects were twenty nine people who were regular students at public schools and colleges in Nepal. They represented the formal group in the study. They learned English mainly through formal classroom instruction which was grammar-based and had Nepalese teachers for models ESL speech.

These formal people did not have exposure to English-speaking environment by way of visiting English-speaking countries, nor did they have any chance to come in contact with native English-speaking people within their own country on a sustained basis. Other than an occasional and sporadic use of modern cultural blessings such as a radio, video, television and movies, these formal people have had no access to natural exposure to English learning environment at all. Moreover, almost all the subjects in the

formal group were from outside the city of Kathmandu or who happened to be there just for a brief period of a year or two for their study purposes. Their exposure to informal natural environment is minimal and their ESL proficiency can be attributed mainly to their formal classroom instruction.

The second group also consisted of twenty nine people who represented the informal group. These informal subjects virtually picked up their English in the streets of Kathmandu or on trekking routes of the hills and mountains of Nepal. The majority of these subjects came from the legendary Sherpa community, who work as mountaineering and trekking guides for foreign tourists and expedition teams.

Most of these informal subjects have had no formal schooling at all. A few of them who had somehow managed to go to school early on in their life were either pushed out or pushed themselves out of the formal school system before long because of their need to work. Even those who had a few years of formal schooling had no formal instruction in English because it is taught only from grade four onward in public schools of Nepal. As working adolescents and adults, these informal people could ill afford to go back to school to learn English and remedy the situation. Therefore, it is fair to state that the ESL proficiency of the informal group was a product of untutored, natural exposure to English.

Data Collection: Both the formal and informal subjects were interviewed individually with the help of questionnaires which were designed to gather background information as to the type and period of exposure to ESL and other socio-economic variables (See Appendix A and B). They were also presented a series of pictures from *The Ramayan* and *The Mahabharata*, the two popular sources of the Nepalese culture and tradition. The subjects were asked to tell in English about the important episodes and events presented in the pictures and describe about the main characters presented there.

Both the questionnaires and pictures were given a trial run before they were actually presented to the subjects. Appropriate changes were made after this trial run. This improved their effectiveness by way of generating free and unrehearsed samples of ESL speech that was appropriate for tapping ESL competence (Littlewood, 1984). Every effort was made to collect an adequate sample of ESL speech from both groups of subjects. For example, they were constantly reminded of the fact that there was no truth value attached to their description of the events presented in the pictures so that they would feel free to express whatever they liked. Moreover, it did not require any technical know-how or other extra linguistic abilities on the part of the subjects to respond to the pictorial presentation. All the interviewer was interested in was the collection of adequate samples of ESL speech from the subjects and

he would continue to reinforce positively whenever they made an attempt to speak freely without hesitations.

In this way, speech samples were collected and preserved on cassette tapes. They were later analyzed to test the hypothesis.

Data Analysis: The speech samples were first analyzed holistically by a team of five independent judges who were educated Americans. Four of them had Ph.D. degrees and the remaining one had a master's degree, teaching ESL. They based their judgement on their overall impression of the individual speech samples, each about five minutes long which did not follow any particular order of presentation. There was no way of knowing for the judges whether a particular speech sample represented a formal or informal group. Their identification was masked.

Prior to scoring the speech samples, all the judges went through a practice session which lasted till they were fully confident with and fairly unanimous in the use of the scoring criteria that emphasised the use of language as a tool of communication. The criteria were developed on five point scale, with one being poor and five being excellent (See Appendix C).

After the holistic scoring of each speech sample by the five independent judges, a holistic mean as computed for each subject by way of averaging the five holistic scores.

In order to address the issue of reliability of the holistic scoring method, a correlation matrix among the five raters was computed. The correlation coefficients among the raters ranged between 48 to 90 which were all significant ($p < .01$). The average intercorrelation coefficient among the five raters was 67, calculated by the Z-transformation method. The standardised item alpha analog for interrater reliability of the average score across five raters using the Spearman-Brown method approached 91.

After completing the holistic scoring, the speech samples were further analysed for grammatical errors and fluency related problems. The grammatical errors were measured in terms of subject verb disagreements, adjective-noun disagreements, word order problems, and problems related to copula ('to-be' verbs) such as omissions and substitutions of 'to-be' verbs.

Fluency related problems were measured in terms of number and frequency of pauses made, such as hisses, hesitations and false starts, words and phrases repeated, and fragmentations in the utterances occurred. Later composite scores on fluency related problems and grammar related problems were obtained by combining the subscores.

Results

First, a t-test, based on holistic mean scores, was computed to determine if there was any significant difference between the two groups of subjects who learned English in two different ways. The results are presented below:

Table 1: T-test of the Holistic Mean Scores
Variable: Holistic Mean

Group	N	Mean	S.D.
1. (Formal)	29	2.675	0.890
2. (Informal)	29	3.282	0.624
T	DF	Prob > P	
-3.005	56	0.004	

The t-test on the holistic mean scores indicated that there was a significant difference between the two groups ($p < .01$). The informal group secured significantly higher holistic mean score than the formal group. In the opinion of the five educated American judges who spoke standard English, the informal subjects were better than the formal subjects in their ESL oral proficiency.

T-tests on specific measures and problems related to fluency in speech also yielded significant mean differences ($p < .01$). The mean score of the formal subjects on the fluency related problems which consisted of pauses, repetitions, and fragmentations was significantly higher than that of the informal group. On the other hand, the formal group had significantly lower mean scores than the informal group on grammatical and structural errors ($p < .01$). This suggests that the formal group suffered more from fluency related problems than the informal group and the latter had more grammatical and structural problems than the former.

How do they affect their oral proficiency in ESL? As stated earlier, in the opinion of the five judges, the informal group was significantly better than the formal group in their ESL oral proficiency. This indicates that for effective communication purposes, the ability to speak fluently is more critical than the ability to speak grammatically correct but halting English sentences. The fact that fluency is more important than accuracy, in the opinion of the five judges, is also illustrated by the following correlation table:

Table 2: Correlation Between the Holistic Mean Score and Composite Mean Scores on Grammar and Fluency Related Problems (N = 58)

Holistic Mean		Grammar
Grammar	- 0.0246 (0.8545)	
Fluency	- 0.6339 (0.0001)	-0.1060 (0.4282)

Note: Probabilities are shown in paranthesis

As the table indicates, there was no significant correlation between the holistic mean score and errors on grammar. In other words, grammatical and structural errors (subject-verb disagreements, Adjective-none disagreements, problems with 'to-be' verbs, and word order problems) did not significantly affect, disrupt or breakdown the communication between the speaker and listeners. What seemed to disrupt the communication was the lack of fluency in ESL speech, because there was a significant negative correlation between the scores on the fluency related problems and the holistic mean score ($r = -.63$, $p < .01$).

The data analysis also indicated that there was a significant correlation between vocabulary development and the holistic mean score ($r = .42$, $P < .01$). Earlier, it was found that there was no significant correlation between the score on grammar and structure problems and the holistic mean score. This would indicate that a good stock of the ESL vocabulary was more useful than having a good command over grammar and structure with poor vocabulary for basic communication purposes.

Discussion

In the final analysis, the study seems to throw some additional light of support to Krashen's input hypothesis which states that second language acquisition is a function of comprehensible input designed to convey messages in low anxiety situations (Krashen, 1985). The formal subjects' preoccupation with the form of the language at the expense of the meaning it conveyed not only hindered the smooth flow of their ESL speech but also disrupted the line of their communication.

When the focus was on the form of the language, their anxiety level heightened because of their concern for the grammatical accuracy. As a result, their ESL speech suffered from pauses, hesitations, repetitions, false starts, and fragmentations which inevitably annoyed the judges and might have thus contributed to their lower scores.

On the other hand, the informal subjects' concern for the meaning the language conveyed rather than the form it carried not only relieved them of the anxiety and tension that caused the fluency related problems for the formal subjects but also facilitated their flow of speech and, thereby, improved their communication. This probably was the reason for their scoring higher grades from the judges.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the study seems to suggest that formal and informal language learning environments contribute to second language development in different ways. The former seems to promote accuracy and the latter seems to promote fluency. Depending upon one's priority, one can make an appropriate choice. If both of these abilities are something to be looked for, harmonious blending of formal and informal exposures might produce a better result.

References

- Bialystok, E. 1979. "A Thoretical Model of Second Language Learning." *Language Learning* 28, 69-83.
- Briere, E. 1978. "Variables Affecting Native Mexican Children's Learning Spanish as a Second Language." *Language Learning* 28, 159-174.
- Chihara, T. & Oller, J. 1978. "Attitudes and Attained Proficiency in EFL: A Sociolinguistic Study of Japanese Speakers." *Language Learning* 28, 55-68.
- Hale, T. & Brudar, E. 1970. "Are TESOL Classes the Only Answer?" *Modern Language Journal* 54, 487-92.
- Kadia, K. 1989. "The Effect of Formal Instruction on Monitored and on Spontaneous Naturalistic Interlanguage Performance: A Case Study," *TESOL Quarterly* 22, 509-15.
- Krashen, S. & Seliger, H. 1975. "The Essential Contributions of Formal Instruction in Adult Second Language Learning." *TESOL Quarterly* 9, 173-83.
- Krashen, S. 1976. "Formal and Informal Linguistic Environments in Language Acquisition and Language Learning." *TESOL Quarterly* 10, 157-68.

Krashen, S. and H. Seliger. 1976. "The Role of Formal and Informal Linguistic Environments in Adult Second Language Learning." *International Journal of Psycholinguistics* 3, 15-21.

Krashen, S., S. Zelinski, C. Jones and C. Usprich. 1978. "How Important is Instruction?" *English Language Teaching Journal* 32, 257-61.

Krashen, S. 1985. *The Input Hypothesis Issues and Implications*. New York: Longman, Inc.

Littlewood, W. 1984. *Foreign and Second Language Learning Language Acquisition Research and its Implications for the Classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Long, M. 1983. "Does Second Language Instruction Make a Difference? A Review of Research." *TESOL Quarterly* 17, 359-82.

Martin, G. 1980. "English Language Acquisition: The Effects of Living with an American Family." *TESOL Quarterly* 14, 388-90.

Mason, C., 1971. "The Relevance of Intensive Training in English as a Foreign Language for University Students." *Language Learning* 21, 197-204.

Pica, T., 1983. "Adult Acquisition of English as a Second Language Under Different Conditions of Exposure." *Language Learning* 33, 465-95.

Upshur, T., 1968. "Four Experiments of the Relation Between Foreign Language Teaching and Learning." *Language Learning* 18, 111-24.

Appendix A: Questionnaire For Formal Subjects

Name:

Address:

a) Permanent Address

b) Temporary Address

Level of Schooling Completed

Name of the School/College

Age Sex First Language

1. How long have you been studying English?

Ans.

2. How long did you study English at

a) Primary school? b) lower secondary school?

c) secondary school? d) college?

e) university?

3. Do you also go to private tutors or coaching institutes to learn English?

If so, how many hours a day/week and how long has it continued?

Ans. hrs a day/week for yrs.

4. How many hours do you spend for your English home work?

Ans. hrs a day/week.

5. In addition to doing English home work, do you write or speak English for any other purpose? If so, what is it for and how many hours a day/week?

Ans. hrs a day/week.

6. How often do you read books, magazines, and newspapers in English?

Ans. hrs a day/week.

7. What other language (s) do you speak in addition to your mother tongue?

Ans.

8. Have you ever travelled or lived outside Nepal? If so, where and how long?

Ans in for mths/yrs.

9. How often do you watch television and listen to radio programs in English?

Ans. mts/hrs a day/week.

10. What are your parents' occupation?

Ans.

11. What are your parents' education?
Ans. mother father
12. What kind of house do you live in?
a) thatched roof and mud built b) mud and brick built
c) cement and concrete built d) specify others
13. The house you live in
a) belongs to you. b) belongs to your parents.
c) is rented. d) specify others
14. How difficult is English for you?
a) very difficult b) not so difficult c) easy and simple
15. Why is English important for you?
a) It helps in higher education.
b) It helps in travel.
c) It helps in obtaining better jobs.
d) It gives social prestige.
e) It helps in understanding and developing friendships with English speaking people.
f) Specify others
16. Do you ever think or dream in English?
a) never at all b) sometimes c) often
17. How do you spend your leisure time?
a) reading books and magazines
b) going to movies and theaters
c) watching or playing games and sports
d) playing cards, Nepalese chess, Chinese checkers or similar other games
f) spending time together with friends
g) specify others

Appendix B. Questionnaire for Informal Subjects

Name

Address:

Permanent address

Temporary address

Current position

Age Sex First language

1. How long have you been working in your present job?
Ans.
2. How often do you use English to interact with English speakers?
Ans. hrs a day/week.
3. Did any of your previous jobs require you to speak English? If so, how long have you been speaking English as a part of your work experience?
Ans.
4. Have you ever been to school? If yes, how long?
Ans.
5. Have you ever travelled or lived outside Nepal? If so, where and how long?
Ans. for mths/yrs.
6. How long do you watch TV or listen to radio programs in English?
Ans. mts/hrs a day/week.
7. How often do you watch English movies in theaters or videos?
Ans.
8. Do you read any books, magazines or newspapers in English? If so, name them.
Ans.
9. What language do you speak at home?
Ans.
10. What language (s) do you speak other than your mother tongue?
Ans.
11. What are your parents' occupation?
Ans.
12. What are your parents' educational qualifications?
Ans. mother father
13. Why is English important for you? Because
a) it helps in business

Appendix C. Instructions for Holistic Scoring

Holistic scoring is a method designed to assess the 'overall' effectiveness of a written or oral performance. In the present study, we are concerned with judging the oral performance of a group of people who have learned English as a second language in Nepal. The oral performance is judged on the basis of speech samples that were collected through a picture description task. The pictures were related with *The Ramayana* and *The Mahabharata*, the two most popular religious scriptures in the country.

As a judge, you are kindly requested to listen to each speech sample attentively and score each of those samples holistically. The main assumption of the holistic scoring is that each of the factors involved in the oral skill is related to all the other factors and no one factor can be separated from the others (Conlan, 1976).

As you listen to the tape, you will notice that the investigator is frequently expressing some kind of favorable remarks, such as 'that's good, 'that's very true' or a simple hum of positive expression. They were simply designed to keep the speaker talking and in no way implied that the message was successfully conveyed. As a judge, it is up to you to determine whether a message was conveyed or not.

A set of scoring criteria is available for your reference. Read the criteria carefully and refer to it whenever necessary. Score each sample immediately after you finish listening to it. Unless there is some technical problem, please avoid the temptation of listening to the samples repeatedly to justify the scoring in terms of specific errors. The overall concern should be on the communication of the message. A detailed description of the scoring criteria along with the points they carry is given below.

Criteria	Point
A sample which clearly communicates a message and compares favorably with the oral proficiency of an educated native English speaker in terms of pronunciation, intonation fluency, vocabulary, grammar, and structure.	5

A sample that contains only minor inaccuracies in pronunciation, intonation, fluency, vocabulary, grammar, and structure and these inaccuracies, in no way, interfere with the communication of the message.

4

A sample in which communicability is affected due to inaccuracies in one or more of the following areas: pronunciation, intonation, fluency, vocabulary, grammar, and structure. These deficiencies may cause an occasional recourse to the use of the native language, audible and inaudible pauses between words and phrases, and some hesitation in speech.

3

A sample in which communication breaks down due to apparent deficiency in pronunciation, intonation, fluency, vocabulary, grammar, and structure. It also contains one or more of the following deficiencies: hisses, hesitations, repetitions, long pauses between words and phrases and frequent use of the native language.

2

A sample in which the message is barely communicated due to serious gaps and deficiencies in pronunciation, intonation, fluency, vocabulary, grammar, and structure. It also contains more of the deficiencies listed earlier for the sample carrying a score of 2 which include hisses, hesitations, repetitions, long audible and inaudible pauses between words and phrases, and frequent and prolonged use of the native language.

1

THE MAITHILI CONSONANTS

Sunil Kumar Jha

English Instruction Committee
SMBM Campus, TU, Rajbiraj

Introduction

Consonants can be defined in terms of both phonetics and phonology. Phonetically, consonants are sounds made by a closure or narrowing in the vocal tract so that the air flow is either completely blocked or so restricted that some audible frication is produced. Consonant articulations are relatively easy to feel and determine by such means as palatography or x-rays, and as a result are most conveniently described in terms of place and manner of articulation. From a phonological point of view, consonants are those units which typically function at the margins of syllables, either singly or in clusters.

The present paper looks into all types of phonologically distinctive consonant sounds in a variety of the 'standard' dialect of Maithili (see, Jha, 1984: 26-30, for more details this dialect), and puts forward a description, classification and phonemic analysis of the consonants of this language.

Description, classification and phonemic analysis of the Maithili consonants

Like consonants of other language, the Maithili consonants are formed when the airstream through the vocal tract is obstructed in some way. These consonants can, therefore, be described and classified primarily according to the place and manner of this obstruction. When classified according to their places of articulation, the Maithili consonants can be grouped into the following eight main categories: (1) bilabial, (2) dental, (3) alveolar, (4) retroflex, (5) palato-alveolar, (6) palatal, (7) velar, and (8) glottal; when classified according to their manners of articulation, these consonants can appropriately be grouped into the following five main categories: (1) stops, (2) affricates, (3) fricatives, (4) nasals, and (5) approximants.

The stops in Maithili: 'Stop' refers to any speech sound which is produced by a complete closure in the vocal tract, and thus traditionally includes the

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 1993).

Copyright © 1993 CNAS/TU

class of plosives. The complete articulation of stop consonants consists of three stages: (1) the closing stage, (2) the compression stage, and (3) the release or explosion stage. The closing stage is the one during which the articulating organs move together in order to form the obstruction; the compression stage is the one during which lung action compresses the air behind the closure—this stage may or may not be accompanied by vibration of the vocal cords; the release or explosion stage is the one during which the organs forming the obstruction part rapidly, allowing the compressed air to escape abruptly. The stops in Maithili may be grouped into four main categories in accordance with their different places of articulation in the vocal tract: i.e. bilabial, dental, retroflex and velar.

The bilabial stops: Bilabial consonants are those that are produced by a combined movement of both lips— that is, in their articulation the two lips closely approach or touch each other. There are four phonologically distinctive bilabial stops in Maithili: /p/, /p^h/, /b/ and /b^h/. In the production of each one of them the soft palate is raised and the nasal resonator is shut off, the primary obstruction to the airstream is provided by the closure of the lips. Lung air is compressed behind this closure, during which stage the vocal cords are held wide apart for /p/ and /p^h/, but they vibrate for all or part of the compression stage for /b/ and /b^h/ according to their situation in the utterance. The air escapes with force when the lip closure is released. All the four bilabial stops /p p^h b b^h/ show full phonological contrast in all word positions: initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/par/ “end”; “across”	/ð’ per/ “upper”	/sap/ “snake”
/p ^h ar/ “ploughshare”	/ð’ p ^h er/ “suffocate”	/sap ^h / “clean”
/bar/ “light” (imp.)	/sð’ bek/ “task”	/jib/ “soul”; “live”
/b ^h ar/ “weight”	/sð’ b ^h ek/ “of everyone”	/jib ^h / “tongue”

The dental stops: Dental consonants are those that are produced with the tip and/or blade of the tongue touching the upper front teeth and alveolar ridge. There are four phonologically distinctive dental stops in Maithili: /t/, /t^h/, /d/ and /d^h/. In the articulation of these dental stops the velum is raised and the nasal resonator is shut off, the primary obstruction to the airstream is formed by a closure made between the tip, blade and rims of the tongue and the upper front and side teeth and the alveolar ridge. Lung air is compressed behind this closure, during which stage the vocal cords are wide apart for /t/ and /t^h/, but they vibrate for all or part of the compression stage for /d/ and /d^h/ according to their situation in the utterance. All the four dental stops in Maithili, /t t^h d

d^h /, show full phonological contrast in all word positions: initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/tan/ "pull"	/pat̪r/ "thin"	/pat/ "leaf"
/tʰan/ "roll of cloth"	/patʰ̪r/ "stone"	/patʰ/ "shape" (imp.)
/dan/ "charity"	/u'dar/ "generous"	/bad/ "after"
/dʰan/ "paddy"	/u'dhar/ "on credit"	/badʰ/ "lands surrounding a village"

The retroflex stops: Retroflex consonants are those that are made when the tip of the tongue is curled back in the direction of the front part of the hard palate -- i.e. just behind the alveolar ridge. There are four phonologically distinctive retroflex stops in Maithili: /ṭ/, /ṭʰ/, /ḍ/ and /ḍʰ/. In the articulation of these stops the velum is raised and the nasal resonator is shut off, the primary obstruction to the airstream is formed by a closure made between the tip and rims of the tongue and the upper hard palate and side teeth. Lung air is compressed behind this closure, during which stage the vocal cords are wide apart for /ṭ/ and /ṭʰ/, but they vibrate for all or part of the compression stage for /ḍ/ and /ḍʰ/ according to their situation in the utterance. Of the four retroflex stops in Maithili, /ṭ/ and /ṭʰ/ show full phonological contrast in all word positions, but the remaining /ḍ/ and /ḍʰ/ show phonological opposition mainly word-initially. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/ṭop/ "helment"	/ṭaṭi/ "wooden board"	/kaṭ/ "cut" (imp.)
/ṭʰop/ "drop" (n)	/ṭaṭʰi/ "she goat"	/kaṭʰ/ "wood"
/ḍah/ "jealousy"		
/ḍʰah/ "knock down"		

It has to be mentioned that even though /ḍ/ and /ḍʰ/ do not show phonological contrast in word-medial and word-final positions, /ḍ/ does nevertheless occur in those word positions. And, be it word-medially or word-finally, /ḍ/ is usually preceded by the nasal consonant /n/, which is assimilated to the retroflex place of articulation of /ḍ/. For example:

Medial	Final
/ṇḍa/ "egg"	/kaṇḍ/ "canto"
/ṇḍa/ "a priest"	/kʰṇḍ/ "part; piece"
/gṇḍa/ "useless"	/piṇḍ/ "homage to the dead"

The velar stops: Vilar consonants are those that are made by the back of the tongue against the soft palate. There are four phonologically distinctive velar stops in Maithili; /k/, /k^h/, /g/ and /g^h/. In the articulation of these stops the velum is raised and the nasal resonator is shut off, the primary obstruction to the airstream is formed by a closure made between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Lung air is compressed behind this closure, during which stage the vocal cords are wide apart for /k/ and /k^h/, but they vibrate for all or part of the compression stage for /g/ and /g^h/ according to their situation in the utterance. All the four velar stops /k k^h g g^h/ show full phonological contrast in all word positions: initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/kas/ "a kind of large grass"	/sə'kar/ "confession"	/sik/ "reed"
/k ^h as/ "special"	/sə'k ^h ar/ "a big wooden box"	/sik ^h / "learn" imp.)
/gam/ "village"	/'ugrəl/ "surplus"	/bag/ "garden"
/g ^h am/ "sweat"	/'ug ^h rəl/ "open"; "unveiled"	/bag ^h / "tiger"

The affricates in Maithili

The term 'affricate' is used (e.g. see, Abercrombie, 1967; Gimson, 1970; Ladefoged, 1971 and 1982) in the classification of consonant sounds on the basis of their manner of articulation. It refers to a speech sound that is made when the air-pressure behind a complete closure in the vocal tract is gradually released; the initial release produces a plosive, but the separation which follows is sufficiently slow to produce audible frication—i.e. frication sufficiently audible to be used contrastively in the phonology—and there is thus a fricative element in this kind of speech sound. However, the duration of the frication is usually not as long as would be in the case of an independent fricative consonant. It is thus the combination of 'plosive' and 'frication' which identifies an affricate. There are four phonologically distinctive affricate consonants in Maithili: /c/, c^h/, /j/ and /j^h/.

In the articulation of these Maithili affricates the velum is raised and the nasal resonator is shut off, the obstruction to the airstream is formed by a closure made between the tip, blade, and rims of the tongue and the palato-alveolar region and side teeth. At the same time, the front of the tongue is raised towards the hard palate in readiness for the fricative release. The closure is released slowly, and the air escapes in a diffuse manner over the whole of the central surface of the tongue with friction accruing between the blade/front region of the tongue and the palato-alveolar section of the roof of the mouth. During both stop and fricative stages, the vocal cords are wide apart for /c/ and /c^h/, but they vibrate for all or part of /j/ and /j^h/ according to

their situation in the utterance. All the four affricates in Maithili show full phonological contrast in all word positions; initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/čor/ "thief"	/ð'čar/ "pickle"	/bič/ "centre"
/č ^h or/ "edge"	/ð'č ^h ar/ "shower"	/bič ^h / "pick up" (imp.)
/jor/ "strength"	/'baʃəl/ "spoke"	/biʃ/ "seed"
/j ^h or/ "soup"	/'baʃ ^h əl/ "trapped"; "entangled"	/kiʃ ^h / "rust"

The fricatives in Maithili

A fricative consonant is one that is made when two speech organs come so close together that the airstream escaping between them produces frication sufficiently audible to be used contrastively in the phonology. There is no complete closure between the organs. Indeed, there is simply a stricture, or narrowing of the organs. Maithili has two phonologically distinctive fricative sounds; i.e. the alveolar fricative /s/ and the glottal fricative /h/.

In the articulation of the Maithili alveolar fricative /s/ the velum is raised and the nasal resonator is shut off, the tip and blade of the tongue make a light contact with the upper alveolar ridge, and the side rims of the tongue make a close contact with the upper side teeth. The airstream escapes by means of a narrow groove in the centre of the tongue and causes frication between the tongue and the alveolar ridge. There is very little opening between the teeth and the frication is voiceless.

In the articulation of the Maithili glottal fricative /h/ the air is expelled from the lungs with considerable pressure, causing some frication throughout the vocal tract, the upper part of which is shaped in readiness for the articulation of the following vowel. In other words, as regards the position of the tongue, lips, soft palate, and the configuration of the pharynx, the Maithili /h/ is simply the voiceless counterpart of the following speech sound. Thus differing types of frication will be heard for /h/ in the Maithili words with such sequences as, for example;

/hit/ "friendly"; "benefit"
 /hat^h/ "hand"
 /hur/ "thrust"

The frication is therefore largely of the mouth cavity type—in most cases, associated with the nature of the following vowel. Both Maithili fricatives /s/ and /h/ show full phonological contrast in all word positions; initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/sat/ "paste" (imp.)	/o'sar/ "corridor"	/rðs/ "juice"
/hat./ "market"	/o'har/ "cover" (n)	/rðh/ "stay" (imp.)

The Nasals in Maithili

The term 'nasal' refers to those speech sounds that are produced while the soft palate is lowered to allow an audible escape of air through the nose. Both consonants and vowels may be articulated in this way. Nasal consonants occur when there is a complete closure in the mouth, and all the air escapes through the nose. There are three phonologically distinctive nasal consonants in Maithili: /m n ŋ/. In the articulation of /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, the closures occur in bilabial, alveolar and velar positions, respectively.

In the articulation of the Maithili bilabial nasal /m/ the lips form a closure as for /p p^h b b^h/; the soft palate is lowered, adding the resonance of the nasal cavity to those of the pharynx and the mouth chamber closed by the lips; the tongue generally anticipates or retains the position of the adjacent speech sound. In the articulation of the Maithili alveolar nasal /n/ the tip and rims of the tongue form a closure with the upper alveolar ridge just behind the teeth ridge and upper side teeth; the soft palate is lowered, adding the resonance of the nasal cavity to those of the pharynx and of that part of the mouth chamber behind the alveolar closure; the lip position depends upon that of adjacent vowels. In the articulation of the Maithili velar nasal /ŋ/ a closure is formed in the mouth between the back of the tongue and the velum as for /k k^h g g^h/. The actual point of closure will depend on the type of vowel preceding /ŋ/- for example, the contact is more advanced in the Maithili /hiŋ/ "a kind of spice" than in /taŋ/ "leg; hang". In addition, in the articulation of the Maithili /ŋ/ the soft palate is lowered, adding the resonance of the nasal cavity to that of the pharynx and the above-mentioned part of the mouth chamber behind the velar closure; the lip position depends upon that of the preceding vowel. Of the three nasals /m n ŋ/, /m/ and /n/ show full phonological opposition in all word positions: initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial	Medial	Final
/mam/ "mother's brother"	/'nami/ "famous"	/tam/ "copper"
/nam/ "name"	/'nani/ "mother's mother"	/tan/ "pull"

But the velar nasal /ŋ/ shows phonological opposition with /m/ and /n/ only in two positions: i.e. word-medially and word finally. For example:

Medial

/kəŋhi/ "comb" (n)

/kəmhɪ/ "the period of being away from work"

/kənhɪ/ 'a one-eyed female'

Final

/səŋ/ "together"

/səmh/ 'equal'

/səhn/ "similar"

The approximants in Maithili

Approximant is a general term used by some phoneticians (e.g. Ladefoged, 1971 and 1975/1982) in the classification of speech sounds on the basis of their manner of articulation, and corresponding to what in other approaches (e.g. Abercrombie, 1967; Gimson, 1970) would be called 'frictionless continuants'. The term is based on the articulations involved, in that one articulator approaches another, but the degree of narrowing involved does not produce audible frication. Approximant consonants may be classified into two further groups; 'central' and 'lateral'. Maithili has both central and lateral approximant consonants.

The central approximants: A central approximant is one that is made by the approach of one articulator towards another, but without the oral tract being narrowed to such an extent that a turbulent airstream is produced. There are four phonologically distinctive approximant consonants in Maithili: /w y r ɾ/. Of these, /w/ and /y/ are semi-vowels: /r/ is a tap and /ɾ/ is a flap.

Semi-vowels are sometimes called 'glides' because they are produced by gliding the tongue toward or away from a more prominent adjacent vowel. Maithili has two phonologically distinctive semi-vowels: i.e. the bilabial /w/ and the palatal /y/. Their articulation involves a constriction of the oral cavity which is greater than that for the highest vowels (i.e. /i/ and /u/) but not great enough to produce frication.

In the articulation of /w/ the tongue assumes the position for a back half-close to close vowel—depending upon the degree of openness of the following speech sound—and moves away immediately to the position of the following speech sound; the lips are rounded (more closely when followed by /u/ than when preceding a more open or front vowel); in those cases where /w/ precedes /u/, the lip rounding for /w/ is close and more energetic than that associated with /u/; the soft palate is raised and the vocal cords usually vibrate.

In the articulation of /y/ the tongue assumes the position for a front half-close to close vowel—depending on the degree of openness of the following speech sound—and moves away immediately to the position of the following speech sound; the lips are generally neutral or spread, but may anticipate the lip-rounding of the following vowel in such cases as /'piyu/ "(please) drink",

/ˈjiyu/ 'live', and so on; the soft palate is raised and the vocal cords usually vibrate.

Both /w/ and /y/ show phonological opposition in word-initial and word-medial positions. For example:

Initial

/war/ "strike; hit"

/yar/ "friend"

Medial

/pwar/ "straw"

/pyar/ "lovel"

It should be stated that both /y/ and /w/ are mostly used by educated Maithili speakers. In colloquial speech, however, most uneducated native speakers of Maithili often replace the pronunciations of /y/ by /j/ and of /w/ by /b/ or /o/. To take the case of /y/ first, there are three main phonological contexts in which /y/ is realised as (j): i.e. first, when /y/ occurs word-initially as:

/yðs/ ~ (jð:s) "fame"

/yð'di/ ~ (jð'di:) "if"

This fact can be stated in a low level informal rule as given below:

(1)

$$y \longrightarrow j \quad \# \quad \text{---}$$

There are, however, exceptions to this generalisation—e.g. the Maithili word /yar/ is always pronounced as (ya:r), and not as *(ja:r). Secondly, /y/ is realised as (j) when it occurs immediately after /r/. For example:

/ˈsuryð/ ~ ('su:rjð) 'the sun"

/ˈkðryð/ ~ ('kð:rjð) "debt"

This fact can also be stated in a low level informal rule as given below:

(2)

$$y \longrightarrow j \quad / \quad r \text{ ---}$$

Thirdly, /y/ is realised as (j) when it occurs immediately after /h/. For example:

/ˈsðhyð/ ~ ('sð:hjð) "tolerable"

This fact, too, can be stated in a low level informal rule as given below:

(3)

$$y \longrightarrow j \quad / \quad h \text{ ---}$$

All the above-mentioned rules can in fact be collapsed into just one informal rule as given below:

(4)

$$y \longrightarrow \overset{v}{j} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \text{ ---} \\ r \text{ ---} \\ h \text{ ---} \end{array} \right\}$$

The above Rule (4) says that in Maithili /y/ is realised as ($\overset{v}{j}$) whenever it occurs either word-initially, or after /r/, or after /h/. In all other contexts, /y/ is always realised as (y). For example:

/gədyə/	(gə:dyə) "prose"
/əyə/	(a:yə) "income"
/sə'mədyə/	(sə'mə:dyə) "time"

Similarly, whenever /w/ is spoken in colloquial speech, especially in words of CV, VC or CVC syllable structure, it is usually realised either as (b), if the words in which it occurs are of Sanskrit origin, such as:

/widya/	('bidya:) "learning"; "education"
/nəwə/	(nə:bə) "new"

or as (o), if the words where it occurs are of non-Sanskrit origin, such as:

/wə'kil/	(o'ki:l) "a lawyer"
/wə'jəh/	(o'jə:h) "reason"

But whenever /w/ occurs in words of CwV syllable structure—that is, whenever it is preceded by a consonant and followed by a vowel within one and the same syllable—it is always realised as (w). For example:

/tətwə/	(tətwə) "element"
/əmə'rətwə/	(əmə'rətwə) "immortality"

In addition, in all those syllables where /w/ is followed by /a/, it is always realised as (w), although in the traditional writing system of Maithili (w) is never written. For example:

/khowa/	(k'ho:wa:) "milk cream"
/j'juwa/	(j'ju:wa:) "gambling"

Unlike S. Jha (1941 and 1958) who includes /y/ and /w/ in his inventory of Maithili phonemes, some later Maithili scholars (e.g. G. Jah, 1974: p. 81-84, and 1979: p. 14-15) do not include /y/ and /w/ in their Maithili phonemic inventories, nor do they give sufficient reasons why they exclude these phonemes from their phonemic inventories. R. Yadav (1984) includes them in his study but only as 'marginal phonemes,' as he calls them (Yadav, 1984: 26) and he, too, does not sufficiently discuss what motivated him to treat /y/ and /w/ as only the marginal phonemes of Maithili. Since both /y/ and /w/ show significant phonological contrasts and since there are phonological contexts in which both of them appear as irreplaceable (we have already presented some examples above), in the present study both /y/ and /w/ are therefore included as two different phonemes of the Maithili language.

Turning to the Maithili tap and flap, the term 'tap' refers to a speech sound produced by an obstruction which the tongue makes in a single tap against the alveolar ridge. In Maithili /r/ is a tap. The term 'flap' refers to a speech sound produced by a single rapid contact of the tongue with the retroflex. In Maithili /ɽ/ is a flap. Since both /r/ and /ɽ/ do show phonological contrasts in word-medial and word-final positions, as in the following examples:

Medial

/kḁru/ "(please) do"

/kḁɽu/ "hot"

/kḁ'rah/ "groan"

/kḁ'rah/ "a big cooking pan"

Final

/har/ "necklace"

/har/ "bone"

/pḁɽ/ "on"

/pḁɽ/ "lie down" (imp.)

These speech sounds are regarded in the present study as two different phonemes of maithili.

The lateral approximants: The term 'lateral' refers to a consonant sound which is articulated by means of a partial closure, on one or both sides of which the airstream is able to escape through the mouth. In Maithili /l/ is a phonologically distinctive consonant phoneme. In the articulation of the Maithili /l/ the soft palate is in a raised position, shutting of the nasal resonator, the tip and blade of the tongue come in contact with the alveolar ridge, allowing the air to escape on both sides or, in the case of unilateral tongue-rim closure on the upper side teeth, on one side. Both /l/ and /ɽ/ show phonological opposition in all word positions: initial, medial and final. For example:

Initial

/laj/ "shame"

/raj/ "nation/state"

Medial

/mala/ "garland"

/mara/ "a kind of fish"

Final

/mal/ "cattle"; "goods"

/mar/ "beat" (imp.)

Summary

To summarise, we have established that Maithili has a total of the following 30 consonant phonemes: /p ph b bh t th d dh ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh k kh g gh č čh ǰ ǰh s h m n ŋ w y r ṛ l/. The chief Maithili consonantal articulations discussed so far are summarised and presented in a chart given in Figure 1. The customary chart includes: (1) the place of articulation parameter shown horizontally, (2) the manner of articulation parameter shown vertically, and (3) a pairing of consonantal types to show the voiceless variety on the left and the voiced variety on the right.

Places of Articulation		Manners of Articulation		Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palato-alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Stops	Unaspirated	Aspirated	p	b	t	d			t̪	ḍ	ṭḥ					k	g		
Affricates	Unaspirated	Aspirated																	
Fricatives	Unaspirated	Aspirated																	
Nasals	Unaspirated	Aspirated		m				n											
Approximants	Central	Unaspirated	Aspirated	w				r		ɹ									
Lateral	Unaspirated	Aspirated						l											

Figure 1: Chief Maithili consonantal articulations

References

- Abercrombie, D. 1967. *Elements of General Phonetics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gimson, A.C. 1970. *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*. 2nd Ed. London: Edward Arnold.
- Jah, G. 1974. *Maithilī Bhāshākā Vikās* (The Development of the Maithili Language). Patna: Bihar Hindi Granth Academy.
- _____. 1979. *Ūccatara Maithilī Vyākaraṇa* (A Higher Maithili Grammar).
- Jah, S. 1941. "Maithili phonetics". *Indian Linguistics*, Vol. S, pp. 39-70.
- _____. 1958. *The Formation of the Maithili Language*. London: Louzac and Co.
- Jha, S.K. 1984. "A Study of Some Phonetic and Phonological Aspects of Maithili." Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Essex (England).
- Ladefoged, P. 1971. *Preliminaries to Linguistic Phonetics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- _____, 1975/2nd Ed. 1982. *A Course in Phonetics*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Yadav, R. 1984. *Maithili Phonetics and Phonology*. Mainz (Germany): Selden & Tamm.

NEPALESE INDIGENOUS LABOUR RELATIONS

Jana Fortier

University of Wisconsin - Madison and Fond du Lac

The first part of my argument you may be familiar from researchers studying "local knowledge" (Kloppenburger 1991), "indigenous knowledge" (Howes 1980; Brodentsha 1980) or sustainable agriculture (Berry 1977; Chambers 1983, 1989): local or indigenous knowledge is neglected but valuable resource. Like many researchers in environmental and sustainable agriculture studies, anthropologists complain that development planners neglect the role of local knowledge in Nepalese agricultural production. Such neglect of indigenous systems of agricultural production, especially relations of agricultural production, slow Nepal's development goals. I will elaborate on this theme as it applies to Nepal and my research sits in western Nepal in Jajarkot District shortly.

The second theme of my presentation involves the role of women in local knowledge. Researchers writing about labour relations practices fail to involve women in written description and analysis. A quick review of the literature on *jajmani* for South Asia will convincingly demonstrate that we have little understanding of what *jajmani* duties fall upon female potters, tailors, pipemakers, grain threshers, and leatherworkers.² Perhaps these women make artisanal crafts, collect payments for services and decide whether to continue traditional craftwork, learn a new skill or migrate seasonally to India for labour. But since no one has concentrated on their work and lives, we just don't know.³ Judith Shapiro (1982) points out the 'perils of markedness': since it is the male sex which writers use as the referent, women's roles are subsumed under descriptions of Men's work (see also P. Caplan; A. Weiner; M. Strathern). Women in rural Nepal perform many tasks outside of their homes, such as artisanal work, food processing, and caring for livestock. Before we can understand the socioeconomic situation in Nepal, we should focus less on the work and roles of high caste males and more on the work and contributions to the economy women and low caste. If development experts neglect both women's productive contributions and indigenous knowledge, they are bound to come up with a wrong understanding of a proper Nepalese development agenda.⁴

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 1993).

Copyright © 1993 CNAS/TU

Finally, I make my third point before discussing labour relations in Jajarkot District. *Jajmani* is not a "system." In Jajarkot, "*jajmani* system" is not a self contained institution but merely one important part of a network of labour exchange practices (see Guillet 1980; Erasmus 1956). The practice of *jajmani*, where grain from landlords is given to artisans in exchange for their wares and services, is bound up with other labour exchange practices which in English gloss as "reciprocal labour" (*parima*), "sharecropping" (*adhiya* or *kuT*), "labour parties" or group labour (*baure*, *nogar*), "unfree labour" or "debt labour" (*hali*), "free labour" which can be wage or non hyphen wage (*jyaala*), "gift labour" (*sahayog* or *madat*), governmental conscripted or obligatory labour (*sramadhan*, *begar*, *hanseri*), and slavery or a period of indentured servitude (*kamara*, *kam garaune*). My third point is this: It is these distinct yet overlapping indigenous labour relations which contribute to the definition of Nepalese social statuses.

TWO TYPES OF LABOUR RECIPROCITY: *PARIMA* "SIMPLE LABOUR RECIPROCITY" AND *BAURE* "GROUP LABOUR"

One of the interesting things about Nepalese labour reciprocity (*parima*) is the inability of researchers to come to a clear consensual definition. Hiroshi Ishii, for example, states that "*Parima* is a form of one to one labour exchange" (1982: 48), while other researchers imply that labour reciprocity is a group effort, a form of cooperation, or a means of combining forces during peak labour periods. Barry Bishop states that *parima* is a strategy of combining "forces in a system of reciprocal or exchange labour" and notes that careful scheduling has to be done in order to assure that the supply of the number of women (literally "planter" or *roparni*) equals the amount of work needed (1990:192). L. Caplan too, says, "At peak season, moreover, to cope better with these (agricultural) duties several households combine their labour to work in large teams on a direct exchange basis (here called *hade-parima*)" (1975:119). In addition to Hindu caste farmers, Magar ethnic groups also use labour reciprocity (Hitchcock 1965; Molnar 1980). Hitchcock begins a chapter in his monograph on Magar life with the opening paragraph about *porima* or *orima porima*: "The most common kind of work group is formed on the basis of what is called *porima* or *orima porima*...." (1966:85). Hitchcock's assertion is based on fieldwork done in 1955-56 and represents one of the earliest accounts by a Western researcher.⁵

The semantic boundaries constituting labour reciprocity (*parima*) are open to interpretation. In Jajarkot District I have heard *parima* defined and practiced in a number of elastic variations depending on the needs of the practitioner.

At various times *parima* is a relationship of one to one, or household to household, or it can constitute a village work gang. *Parima* and *baure* stretch to the boundaries of their definitional space among other forms of labour such as free labour (known as *jyaala*) and bonded labour (known as *haliya* or the *kamaiya* system).

I define *parima* as a practice where at least two households engage in a relationship of simple reciprocity which is marked by egalitarianism and no other in-kind or cash exchange. The relationship ideally endures for at least several years and households engage in *parima* practice with their neighbors during rice transplanting and other labor intensive periods. Neighborhood participants first coordinate *parima* fieldwork in an effort to determine the order of fieldworks and amount of days each family donates.

For a definition of group labor (*baure*), in the next section I analyze a conversation with a farmer from northern Jajarkot. I want to first explain that *baure* in Jajarkot appears in several different manifestations. In one form it appears like daily wage labor. High caste landowners call workers and pay them food and money on a daily basis. In another form it appears as delayed reciprocal labor. One family will call neighbors and they are only given food with the expectation that the workers can call on their neighbors for labor in the future. And in another area of Jajarkot *baure* acts essentially like bonded labor. The *baure* worker labours a specified number of days per month and receives a small percentage of the harvest plus daily food.

SEMANTIC OVERLAPPING BOUNDARIES OF RECIPROCAL LABOUR, GROUP LABOUR, AND SHARECROPPING

Turning to an ethnographic definition, Mr. Gharti⁶ in northern Jajarkot District explained the difference in his region between *parima* and group labour (*baure*). In group labour (*baure*) labour is donated for large labour intensive projects. Mr. Gharti explains his definitional boundaries in the following conversation:

G:We do labour reciprocity (*parima*) for only 1 or 2 days. For [big] work, there's *baure*. We call one person and their people come and on a daily basis we use *baure*....We don't use *baure* for small work but for big work. When they work they eat, they just eat and leave ...we give *baure* workers only food and not money.⁷

There is noticeable overlap between labour reciprocity and group labour. In a field of labour forms, group labour (*baure*) takes up from labour reciprocity when the household needs help that takes many days, requires no skilled

labour, does not need to be repaid immediately, and where food not money is the proper remuneration. In addition, group labour (*baure*) is caste and gender specific, meaning that low caste men work typically for high castes and division of labour by gender follows traditional Nepalese form. There is not such a caste rule surrounding simple labour reciprocity.

J: Last time [you used group labour (*baure*)] did many people come? Who are they?

G: Blacksmith caste families come here and Leatherworker caste members also; low castes come for *baure*. If we get them work for 5 or 10 days then they will take wages [not just food] ...we give them alcohol (jaR: fermented grain to drink), bread (*roTi*: bread/chappatis), and cooked pulses or vegetables (*tarkari*). Curd also, but we don't give curd to Blacksmith and Leatherworker caste families⁸.

In this region of northern rural Jajarkot "wages" refer to payment in grain at about two to four pounds of unhusked grain per day or to cash wages between \$.30-.75 per day depending on the work.

The types of work common to group labour (*baure*) take a noticeably masculine form:

J: What work did they do as group labour (*baure*) work?

G: They do plowing, digging (*gorne*), roofing (*ghar dhune*), cutting wood (*khaat kaatne*), carrying stone (*dunga bokne*).

Men tended to perform group labour (*baure*) while women undertake labour reciprocity, doing labour intensive tasks such as rice transplanting, weeding, and setting corn stalks, and even cooking for crews of workers. Mr. Khatri, a tenant I interviewed during rice transplanting, needed 15 women for rice transplanting, 6-8 men and 4 pair of bulls for turning the soil, and 3 women to cook meals.

The relationship between labour giver and receiver rarely is equal, yet owner-worker relationships are the bedrock of Nepal's development process. The lands on which development projects take place are often tenured properties with low castes and women engaged in labour exchange practices.

In the following excerpt I asked M. Khatri about sharecropping. I requested that he join myself and his new landlord for drinks and snacks. The meeting was unusual in that I normally did not interview a landlord and tenant together. The conversational exchanges between tenant and landlord highlighted the unequal relationship in subtle ways.

Researcher: Even though you're sharecropping, do you also pay fieldhands? How do you accomplish this? Through *parima* or?...

(Embedded question by landlord: Why do you spend the rice so quickly?)

Tenant: Because we eat too much. If we eat 7 or 8 *rotis* then we might eat up to 2 kilograms (*mana*) of grain.)

Tenant: No, I needed to get help through *parima* in the past, but this year I couldn't get any help through *parima*. I say here truly, I had Rs. 1000 before the planting, but after ward I found I had only Rs. 300 left.

Landlord: How did you call the women for planting our rice land?

[Question went unanswered.]

(Embedded question by Landlord's Friend: Who *paid* the *roparnis*? We or he [tenant]?)

Landlord: We paid them Rs. 10 plus tip (*hilauri*).

Rs. 27 = approximately U.S. \$1.00 in 1990

I called the sharecropper to discuss how he managed to do sharecropping and hire workers. The domination - subordination of the landlord - sharecropper relationship influenced the conversation, with the sharecropper defending himself. In reply to the Landlord's first question, the sharecropper said that he eats "too much ...," yet he contradicts this statement by saying they eat 'up to 2 manas of rice' per day. This is not overeating but accepted the standard amount a farmer should eat per day. Thus the tenant is actually defending himself by saying that he doesn't waste grain for consumption.

In the second embedded question, the landlord's friend questions the truthfulness of the tenant. After the tenant says he spend Rs. 700 in the recent transplant of rice, the landlord replies that it is he, not the tenant, who pays the *roparni*, female transplanters (fourteen female planters working for five days amounts to Rs. 700). It is doubtful that the landlord paid for the workers, however. Normally it is the sharecropper who will pay workers since the sharecropper assumes responsibility for all expenses. The sharecropper hires bullocks, labour, collects and applies fertilizers, plants, weeds and plows, and harvests the crop. The only input the landowner normally gives is one-half contribution of seed reserved from harvest for the next seasonal planting.

Mr. Khatri responded that he couldn't get help through *parima* that season due to a recent switch in labour exchange relations from "*parima*" to daily labour. Farmers chose to work for wages rather than reciprocate their labour

with Mr. Khatri. There are several reasons for this. There are many commodities to be purchased, such as clothes, liquor, paper, and medicines. Workers, especially women (the majority of *parima* workers), have fewer opportunities to earn cash since most don't migrate or trade on a large scale. There are increased opportunities in the economy to purchase goods portered from the Nepalese lowlands and India, whereas grains only can be grown, consumed, stored or fed to guests. Cash represents surplus; grain merely subsistence.

My choices of ethnographic example highlight two points. First, Nepalese agricultural work relations are holistic and overlapping. I start out talking to Mr. Khatri, for example, about his *adhiyan* sharecropping arrangement. Within our talk we find that *parima* is bound up within the sharecropping practices. Second, the *adhiya* example highlights the fact that women use work relations in agriculture, since they do a host of field work, food processing artisanal work, and labour exchanges such as simple labour exchange and gifts of labour. Researchers need to recognize women workers in their discourse about land and labour relations.

QUANTITATIVE INTERPRETATIONS

Quantitative data highlights patterns of labour relations such as plowing, hiring plow hands, wage labour, hiring wage labourers and migrating for labor. As a generalization, low caste households work in high caste homes and fields. In my Rural Socioeconomic Survey (SES) 1990, in a sample of 57 households from northern Jajarkot District, 84% of low caste households (N=21) had members who were free or bonded laborers, compared to just 9% of high caste households (N=5). In reverse, 47% of high caste households (N=27) employ laborers, but no low caste households responded that they had hired laborers. Low caste households occasionally also need to obtain extra-familial labor. When low cast households need labour, they resort to *parima* (44% of sample) and gift labour (*sahayog*) (72%).

Labor reciprocity (*parima*) and gift labor (*sahayog*) are egalitarian and employ no money in the work relationship. Low caste families rely on simple and delayed reciprocity (*parima*, *sahayog*), partly because they cannot afford to pay others to work in their fields and partly because their fields are only about 5-6 ropani (.25 hectare) on average. High caste families rely on reciprocity, and in addition, group and daily wage labor, since they can afford to pay workers. Thus both low and high caste neighbors obtain extra-familial labour, though they tend to do so in two different ways.

**Table 1: Selected Standards of Living
Comparison by Caste Strata in Rural Jajarkot Region⁹**

Category of Data	Caste Strata		Unit of Measurement
	High	Low	
	N = 32 households	N = 25	
I. Household			
Household Size	6.53	7.88	Persons in H.H
Deaths 8.75	2.90	4.08	Under 5 years/h.h.
Education- Male	2.50	0.04	Total # yrs of males
Education-Female <i>household</i>	8.75	2.88	or females <i>in</i>
II. Agriculture			
Land Holding	13.84	5.57	Ropani irrigated/non
Grain Production	17.31	7.89	Muri
Vege/Fruit Production	13.09	7.76	No. species grown
Large Livestock	11.06	5.16	Adult cow, buffalo, pig goat, or sheep
III. Income			
Grain/Livestock	2122	522	Rupees per year
Labour	1699	5014	1989/90: Rs.28 =
U.S.1			
Trade	10397	1208	Rupees per year
Gov't/ Other	2740	433	Rupees per year
Total	16958	7167	Rupees per year
IV. Labour Practice			
% Ploughs	6.3%	68.0%	
% Employs for plough	21.9%	0.0%	
% Bonded/free laborer	9.4%	84.0%	
% Employer of labour	71.9%	44.0%	
% Does exchange labour	71.9%	44.0%	
% Does gift labour			
to neighbor	56.3%	72.0%	
% Does migrant labour	28.1%	52.0%	

Standards of living in general are quantitatively poorer for low caste than for high caste households throughout Nepal. In Jajarkot, households are

larger, yet there is higher infant mortality, less education, less land, less livestock, less production of vegetables and fruit, and less income. Unfortunately, in my summer 1993 reevaluations of the village in the northern region of Jajarkot, it appears from preliminary survey analysis that low caste household incomes are decreasing.

In order to survive, castes rely on not only patronage in the traditional *jajmani* or *bista* system but on *baure*, *parima*, and other indigenous labour relations. If real incomes of low castes do decrease, there should be an increasing dependence on non-monetary labor relations.

Conclusions

David Guillet wrote in an analysis of Andean labour, "Observers of the Andean countryside never fail to be struck by the persistence of 'co-operative' forms of labour recruitment among peasants" (1980:151). In Nepal, labour exchange practices, including simple labour exchange, group labour, labour gifting, bonded and free labour, and *jajmani*, are all practiced in rural regions because they are integral to agricultural production.

The problem is that development planners come from foreign countries, like the United States and even India, where they know little or nothing about indigenous labour relations. As a result indigenous labour relations don't enter into the development project or even into their ideas about what constitutes good development for Nepal.

Development planners are taught that Western standards of development are appropriate, although this assumption is not explicit. If western ethnocentric development standards are the norm, Nepal has been subjected to decades of misguided and inappropriate foreign aid.¹⁰ Could this be the reason Nepal's development history has been such a struggle? Could it be that Western styles of development failed to see the real relations of agricultural production and instead constantly imposed an individualistic cost and benefits approach only appropriate in a capital intensive society dominated by capitalist relations of agricultural production? I believe this is the case.

It wasn't until the last decade or two that anthropologists and other interested social scientists began to understand the nature of Eurocentric concepts of what development stands for (Davis 1977; Higgot 1981; Brodensha 1980). I believe it stands for a belief in the farmer as a male provider for a nuclear family, a person who can read and think logically about alternative choices, a person who has access to potentially unlimited amounts of information, a person unconstrained by caste or even class position, a person willing to give up old inefficient practices for such modern practices as producing a cash crop, a person preferring the use of cash over grain and labour transactions because it is more efficient and precisely accountable, a

person unconstrained by political factions and willing to work for the good of his (I say "his" intentionally) community and country. And why is this all Eurocentric? Do not Nepalese share some of these same beliefs? Yes and No. No, because Eurocentric concepts of a perfect world, of Utopian development style, stems from centuries of European and American histories, the renaissance or "burning time" as it is also called, from Latin classes and Latin rules or etiquette such as Cicero's *De Officiis* (meaning 'About Social Responsibility') which enjoins its audience to put 'God first, country second, family third and thyself fourth.' The Eurocentric project of development aims at efficiently transforming nature.

Our goal in the 1990s is not to take Eurocentric 'hands off' and leave Nepal to its destiny, or a policy of isolationism. Rather I advocate using and appreciating Nepalese indigenous labour practices as basic alternative starting points in their own managed development projects. As D. Guillet and others around the world have shown, sharecropping, free and bonded labour, simple labour reciprocity, loan giving and other relations of agricultural production are universal. They occur everywhere, they are ubiquitous. But the local manifestations of sharecropping, group labour, reciprocal labour, and so forth are entirely and uniquely Nepalese. It is this legacy, pre-dating the eighteenth century unification of the state of Nepal, which must inform Nepal's development process. Farmers know what *adhiya* is: sharecropping. And they know how to incorporate it into a development project. They know what *parima*, simple labour exchange, is and they will incorporate it into development projects whether it is knowingly or unknowingly part of the development plan. I therefore advocate using an approach where development planners are cognizant of the role of indigenous labour relations and women's roles in agricultural development. The next Nepalese Small Farmer's Development Plan or Integrated Rural Development Plan which actively pursues the use of local knowledge and women's work, and which acknowledges an indigenous system of labour practices will be more successful.

Notes

1. For support of this research I am grateful to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research and the Fulbright-Hays program at the U.S. Department of Education.
2. In India and regions outside Nepal the following researchers have studied or commented on *jajmani* with little accounting for women's *jajmani* work (see Bibliography): Baboo, Bailey, Benson, Breman, P. Caplan, Epstein, Gough, Harper, Kolenda, Lewis, Mencher, Miller

- (mentions that pottery caste females 'paint the pots'), Neal, Opler, Orenstein, Pocock, and Rowe.
3. C. Wiser gives good anecdotal information on low caste women's duties in *jajmani* (1963 [1930]). Mary Cameron focuses on low caste womens' work and recently finished her dissertation.
 4. The question of why development in Nepal has largely been difficult and some say a failure is an important but tangential point to this paper. Bista 1991 has one of the more recent holistic explanations, citing *afno manche* (nepotism, patronage in general) and fatalism as two endemic ethics which hinder Nepalese development.
 5. Hitchcock reported that "porima" means to "lend an arm" which contradicts the meaning given to me, "after me" (from *pachhi ma* [*> pari ma*]). Personally, I think that when villagers are asked for a translation, sometimes they make educated guesses. Perhaps both glosses have historical significance as meanings for *porima* and *parima*.
 6. I use the English "Mr." to denote the Nepali post-position "-ji". The Hindi "Shree" is not commonly used in Jajarkot and sounds awkward to me.
 7. Mr. Gharti's definition of *baure* differs from descriptions of *baure* further south in Jajarkot, where landowners pay workers Rs. 10-25/day. This makes *baure* more like daily wage labor, *jyaala*.
 8. A Nepalese variation of Hindu caste laws on food restriction: high castes won't give low castes pure foods such as curd.
 9. The subset of 52 households comes from a larger body of 120 rural socioeconomic surveys. The 52 households are geographically located within three *Gaun Bikas Samiti*, or sub-sections of Jajarkot District. The 68 households in the rural SES come from a western region of the district with slightly different socioeconomic conditions.
 10. In Jajarkot the earliest development arguably begins with the building of the District Offices (*Darbar*) in A.D. 1894. The next building project of distinction, using Scottish engineering expertise, was the suspension bridge to Rukum District, built circa 1927/28 A.D. The question of what constitutes the beginnings of modern development in Nepal, and according whose definition, is an important question though tangential to the elaboration of indigenous labour practices.

References

- Baboo, Balgovind. 1985. "Economic Exchanges in an Oriya Village". *Eastern Anthropologist*, 38(2):117-150.

- Bailey, Fredric G. 1959. *Caste and the Economic Frontier: A Village in Highland Orissa*. San Diego.
- Benson, Janet. 1976. "A South Indian Jajmani System." *Ethnology* XV(3):239-250.
- Berry, Wendell. 1977. *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture*. New York: Avon.
- Bishop, Barry. 1990. *Karnali Under Stress: Livelihood Strategies and Seasonal Rhythms in a Changing Nepal Himalaya*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bista, Dor Bahadur. 1972. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.
- _____. 1991. *Fatalism and Development: Nepal's Struggle for Modernization*. Calcutta: Orient Longman.
- Breman, Jan. 1974. *Patronage and Exploitation: Changing Agrarian Relations in South Gujarat, India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- D. Brodensha, et al., (ed.). 1980. *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development*. Landham Maryland: University Press of America.
- Caplan, Lionel. 1970. *Land and Social Change in East Nepal*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- _____. 1972. The Multiplication of Social Ties: The Strategy of Credit Transactions in East Nepal. *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 20(4):691-702.
- _____. 1975. *Administration and Politics in a Nepalese Town: The Study of a District Capital and its Environs*. London: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1980. Power and Status in South Asian Slavery. In *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*. James L. Watson, ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Caplan, Patricia. 1972. *Prests and Cobblers*. San Franscisco: Chandler Publication Company.
- Chambers, Robert. 1983. *Farmer First: Farmer Innovation and Agricultural Research*. NY: John Wiley and Sons.
- Davis, Shelton H. 1977. *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Epstein, Scarlett. 1962. "Economic Development and Social Change in South India." In G. Dalton, ed., *Economic Development and Social Change*. Garden City: Natural History Press. pp. 460-481.
- _____. 1967. Productive Efficiency and Customary Systems of Rewards in Rural South India. In R. Firth, ed., *Themes in Economic Anthropology*, pp. 229-252. London: Tavistock Publications.
- _____. 1971. Customary Systems of Rewards in Rural South India. In G. Dalton, ed., *Economic Development and Social Change*, pp. 99-120. Garden City: Natural History Press.
- Erasmus, Charles. 1956, "Culture Structure and Process: The Occurrence and disappearance of Reciprocal Farm Labor." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12:444-469.
- Fuller, Chris J. 1989. "Misconceiving the Grain Heap: A Critique of the Concept of the Indian Jajmani System." in J. Parry and M. Bloch, eds., *Money and the Morality of Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gough, Kathleen. 1960. "The Hindu Jajmani System." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 9:83-91.
- _____. 1980. *Social Relations in Rural South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Guillet, David. 1980. "Reciprocal Labor and Peripheral Captialism in the Central Andes." *Ethnology* 19(2):151-168.
- Harper, Edward B. 1959. "Two Systems of Economic Exchange in Village India." *American Anthropologist* 61:760-778.

- Higgot, Richard. 1981. "Beyond the Sociology of Underdevelopment: An Historiographical Analysis of Dependecia and Marxist Theories of Underdevelopment." *Social Analysis* 7:72-98.
- Hitchcock, John T. 1966. *The Magars of Banyan Hill*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- Howes, Michael. 1980. "The Uses of Indigenous Technical Knowledge in Development." In D. Brodetsky, et al., ed., *Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Development*. Landham Maryland: University Press of America.
- Ishii, Hiroshi. 1982. "Agricultural Labour Recruitment in a Parbate Village in Nepal." In *Anthropological and Linguistic Studies of the Gandaki Area in Nepal*. Monuments Serindica no. 10. Dor Bahadur Bista et al., eds. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, pp. 40-80.
- Kloppendburg, Jack. 1991. "Social Theory and the De/Reconstruction of Agricultural Science: Local Knowledge for an Alternative Agriculture." *Rural Sociology* 56(4):519-548.
- Kolenda, Pauline. 1967. "Toward a Model of the Hindu Jajmani system." In G. Dalton, ed., *Tribal and Peasant Economies*. NY: Natural History Press. pp. 285-332.
- Lewis, Oscar and Victor Barnouw. 1967. "Caste and the Jajmani System in a North Indian Village." In J. M. Potter et al., eds. *Peasant Society: A Reader*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. pp. 11-54.
- Mencher, Joan. 1974. "The Caste System Upside Down." *Current Anthropology* 15(4): 469-492.
- _____. 1983. "Agricultural Labourers in Peasant Societies: The Case of South Asia." In *Social Anthropology of Peasantry*, J. Mencher, ed. Bombay: Somaiya Publications. pp. 291-312.
- Miller, Dan. 1986. "Exchange and Alienation in the Jajmani System." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 42(4):535-556.
- Molnar, Augusta. 1980. *Flexibility and Option: A Study of the Dynamics of Women's Participation among the Kham Magar of Nepal*. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison. 352 pp.

- _____. 1982. *The Kham Magar Women of Thabang*. The Status of Women in Nepal, Volume 2: Field Studies, Part 2. Kathmandu: CEDA.
- Neal, W. C. 1957. "Reciprocity and Redistribution in the Indian Village; Sequel to Some Notable Discussions." In K. Polany et al, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*. Glencoe: Free Press. pp. 218-36.
- _____. 1962. *Economic Change in Rural India: Land Change and Reform in Uttar Pradesh 1800-1955*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Opler, Morris, and Rudra Datt Singh. 1948. "The Division of Labor in an Indian Village" In Carelton S. Coon, ed. *A Reader in General Anthropology*. NY: Henry Holt. pp. 464-496.
- Orenstein, H. 1962. Exploitation or Function in the Interpretation of Jajmani. *SW Journal of Anthropology* 18:302.
- Pocock, David F. 1962. "Notes on Jajmani Relationships." *Contribution to Indian Sociology* 6:78-95.
- Rowe, William. 1963. "Changing Rural Class Structure and the Jajmani System." *Human Organization* 22:41-44.
- Shapiro, Judith. 1982. "Women's Studies: A Note on the Perils of Markedness." *Signs* 7(3).
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1985. "Dislodging a World View: Challenge and Counter Challenge in the Relationship Between Feminism and Anthropology." *Australian Feminist Studies*, 1, Summer.
- _____. 1987. "An Awkward Relationship: The Case of Feminism and Anthropology." *Signs* 12(2).
- _____. 1988. *The Gender of the Gift*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weiner, Annette. 1976. *Women of Value, Men of Renown*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Wiser, Charlotte. 1963 (1930). *Behind Mud Walls*. (1st ed. publ. by Richard R. Smith). 1963 edition: Berkeley: University of California Press.

डोटी जिल्लाका पाँच ताम्रपत्र

राजाराम सुवेदी

नेपालको एकीकरणपूर्व डोटी राज्य ७०० वर्षसम्म स्वतन्त्र थियो र त्यसभन्दा पहिले सिंजा-जुम्लाका मल्ल राजाहरूको अधीनमा थियो। मल्ल राजाहरूलाई खस मल्ल पनि भनिएको छ।^१ खसमल्लहरूले अधीकरण गरेको क्षेत्रलाई 'खसमिहीर' भनिने हुनाले सोको केन्द्र खासमीर वा काश्मीर भएको हो पनि भनिन्छ।^२ प्रख्यात खस राजा अशोचल्लद्वारा शाशित प्रदेशलाई खस देश नै भनिन्थ्यो।^३ पछि खस राजाहरूको केन्द्रको रूपमा जुम्ला सिंजा हुनगयो। जुम्लाका ती राजाहरूले काठमाण्डौ उपत्यकामाथि पटक-पटक आक्रमण गरे तापनि उनीहरू जुम्ला नै फर्के। त्यसैगरी काठमाण्डौ उपत्यका माथि तिरहुत र सिमरौनगढतिरबाट पनि आक्रमण हुन्थ्यो। अप्रत्याशित तिरहुते आक्रमणले पीडित उपत्यकावासीहरूले खसमल्ल क्षेत्रबाट सैन्य सहयोगको माग गर्दथे। एकातिर उपत्यकाका अपदस्थ शासकहरूले र अर्कोतिर तिरहुते आक्रमण हुने डरले कर्णाली प्रदेशका शासकहरूलाई आब्हान गर्ने गर्दथे। 'सवालाख पर्वतका अधिपति' खसमल्ल राजा ज्यादै शक्तिशाली हुनुका साथै 'सर्वगामिनीवाहिनी' भन्ने सशक्त सैन्य संगठनका मालिक पनि थिए।^४

जुम्ला-सिंजाको मल्ल राज्य कालान्तरमा विखण्डित भई बेग्लै परिवारको शासन शुरू भयो। दक्षिण पश्चिम तिब्बत, डोटी जस्ता प्रदेशहरू स्वतन्त्र बन्न गए। जुम्लामा मलैवर्माको शासन चलन थाल्यो भने डोटीमा कत्युरीवंशका राजाहरूको। डोटीमा मलैवर्माका सन्तानहरू राजा भएका थिएनन्।^५ डोटी एक शक्तिशाली राज्यका रूपमा देखा परेको थियो।^६ कर्णाली प्रदेशका मल्ल राजाहरूको केन्द्र शक्ति विरुद्ध घावा बोली शाके १२७४ (वि.सं. १४०९) देखि डोटी एक पृथक राज्यको रूपमा अस्तित्वमा आयो। त्यस अभियानको नेतृत्व खसमल्ल राजाहरूद्वारा पालित पालवंशीय निरयपालले गरेका थिए। निरयपाल नै त्यसपछि डोटीका शासक भए। डोटी केही समयपछि पुनः सिंजाको कब्जामा गयो।^७ वि.सं. १४०९ मा स्वतन्त्र बनेको डोटी राज्य खस राज्यका राजा सूर्यमल्लका समयमा वि.सं. १४२४ देखि वि.सं. १४४१ सम्म पुनः खस राज्यकै अधीनमा रहन पुग्यो।^८ यसरी डोटीलाई अधीनमा पार्दा राजा सूर्यमल्लले बृहत् योजना बनाउनु परेको थियो। त्यस कार्यमा राजकुमार अभयमल्ललाई उदुम्बरपुरीको तैनाथी दिनु परेको थियो। उक्त उदुम्बरपुरी हाल बझाङ जिल्ला अन्तर्गत डुम्राकोट भन्ने ठाउँमा पर्दछ।^९ राजकुमार अभयमल्लले डोटीलाई शाके १३०६ (वि.सं. १४४१) सम्म दबाएरै राखेका थिए। शाके १३०६ मा डोटीमा नागमल्ल राजा भए। त्यस उप्रान्त डोटी नेपालको एकीकरण नहुँदासम्म स्वतन्त्र रह्यो।

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 1993).

Copyright © 1993 CNAS/TU

जुम्लाका खसमल्ल शासकहरूबाट डोटीले मात्र होइन अरू राज्यले पनि पृथक हुने चेष्टा गरेका थिए। यस्तो पृथकताको क्रम वि.सं. १२०८ देखि शुरू भयो। किनकि पश्चिम तिब्बतमा ल्हा चेन ग्याल्पोको छोरा ल्हाचेन उत्पल ले आफ्नै साम्राज्य निर्माण शुरू गरेका थिए। उनले माथिल्लो र तल्लो ल्हाखलाई एकीकरणगरी अन्य धेरै राज्यहरूलाई अधीनस्थ पारेका थिए। उनले पूराङदेखि पूर्वको लोहो प्रान्तलाई पनि अधीनमा पारे। कुलुका राजालाई “जबसम्म कैलाश पगलन्न, मानसरोवर सुत्तैन तबसम्म कुलुका राजाले ल्हाखलाई सामन्तीकर तिर्दै गर्नेछु” भन्ने कबुलियत पनि उनले गराए।^९

कर्णाली प्रदेशका मल्ल राजाहरू र ल्हाखी राजाहरू बीच कस्तो सम्बन्ध थियो भन्ने कुरो स्पष्ट छैन। नयाँ राज्यहरूको सृजना हुने क्रममा वि.सं. १४०९ मा खसहरूको अधीनबाट दक्षिण पश्चिम तिब्बत स्वतन्त्र भयो। उक्त कार्यको नेतृत्व चाङ चव ग्याल्स्यानले लिएका थिए। त्यहाँको शासक पछि उनै भए।^{१०} त्यसै क्रममा वि.सं. १४०९ मा डोटी पनि स्वतन्त्र भयो। डोटीका राजा निरयपाल पछि नागमल्लका शाके १३०६, १३०९ र १३१५ का ताम्रपत्रहरू प्रकाशमा आएका छन्।^{११} उनकै वंशज रिपुमल्लले पूर्वमा नुवाकोटसम्मको भ्रमण गरी देवमन्दिरमा पानश चढाई अभिलेख राखेका थिए।^{१२} रिपुमल्लको एक ताम्रपत्र बम्हाङमा पनि प्राप्त भएको छ।^{१३} त्यसैगरी राजा रिपुमल्लका उत्तराधिकारी एवं पुत्र राजा कल्याण मल्लको शाके १३६८ (१५०३ वि.सं.) को ताम्रपत्र बम्हाङमा प्राप्त भएको छ।^{१४} उनको त्यो ताम्रपत्र बम्हाङमा प्राप्त डोटीका राजाहरूको अन्तिम ताम्रपत्र हो। त्यसै वर्ष बम्हाङ डोटीदेखि स्वतन्त्र हुन गयो।^{१५} यस प्रकार डोटी वि.सं. १४४१ देखि नै स्वतन्त्र राज्य रहेको कुरा प्रमाणित भएको छ।

यस लेखमा डोटीमा प्राप्त पाँचवटा ताम्रपत्रको पाठ र छोटो व्याख्या प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ। यस व्याख्याले डोटीको मुख्य इतिहास माथि विशेष प्रकाश पार्नेछ, यी मध्ये पहिलो ताम्रपत्र १३७४ शाके (राजा कल्याणमल्लको), दोस्रो शाके १४०४ को (राजा कीर्तिमल्ल), तेस्रो शाके १४४१ को (राजा प्रतापमल्ल), चौथो शाके १४७७ को (राजा राजमल्ल) र पाँचौं १५०२ को (राजा महिपत शाही हरिशाहीको) ताम्रपत्र यहाँ उल्लेख गरिएका छन्।

डोटी जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम सिलगढीदेखि नैऋत्य तर्फ सुदूरपश्चिमाञ्चल क्षेत्रीय सदरमुकाम दीपायल पर्दछ। दीपायलबाट सेती नदीको पूल तरेपछि राजपुर आउँछ। राजपुरबाट कस्सिएर दिन भरि हिंडेपछि डोटी राजाका कुलायन तेडी देवताको स्थलमा पुगिन्छ। त्यहाँ पहिले ठूलो गढ निर्माण गरिएको र त्यहाँ पर्याप्त सिंचाई हुने ठाउँ र खेतीयोग्य जमीन हुनाले सो ठाउँलाई गढसेरा भनियो। राजा निरयपालको स्मरण गराउने निरूलि भन्ने ठाउँ पनि गढसेरादेखि नैऋत्य तर्फ पर्दछ। निरूलिमा भण्डारीहरूको प्रशस्त बिर्ता छ। जोर रायल वा एकै ठाउँमा दुइवटा राजाको निवास भएका करणबाट त्यस्तो ठाउँमा जोरायल वा जोराइल भनियो। सो जोराइल गढसेरा र निरूलिबाट नैऋत्य तर्फ नै पर्दछ।

यहाँ उल्लेख गरिएको पहिलो ताम्रपत्र राजा कल्याण मल्लको हो। राजा कल्याणमल्लका समयदेखि डोटीका मल्ल राजाहरूलाई रैका भन्न थालिएको हो। रैकाको अर्थ जेठो वा ठूलो

भन्ने हुन्छ। जुम्लाका शाहीलाई कल्याल, परबत र रूकुमका शाहीलाई समाल भन्ने भैं डोटीका मल्लहरूलाई रैका भनिएको हो। प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्रको चौधौं वा अन्तिम पंक्तिमा ठाउँ नपुग भएकोले ताम्रपत्रको बायाँ किनारमा एक पंक्ति उत्कीर्ण गरिएको छ। अभिलेखमा उत्कीर्ण अक्षर स्पष्ट जस्ता देखिएतापनि अर्ध्याउन कठिन परेको छ। उदाहरणको निम्ति ताम्रपत्रको चौधौं पंक्तिको अर्थ स्पष्ट खुलाउन खोज्दा भाव र सन्दर्भसंग मेल खाँदैन। अभिलेखका दुई पंक्तिका अन्त्यमा "केदारको केदान्ये केदारूज प्रतिमाष जय केदार" वाक्यको अर्थ स्पष्ट भएको छैन। अपितु लाक्षणिक अर्थ खोज्दा रैका राजा कल्याण मल्लले डोटी राज्यको सिमाना पश्चिमोत्तर कोणमा बद्दीनाथ केदारनाथसम्म रहेको भन्ने संकेत मिल्दछ। यसै सन्दर्भमा देवकान्त पन्तले पनि राजा कल्याणमल्लले केदारनाथ (उत्तरगढवाल) सम्म राज्य विस्तार गरेको संकेत दिएका छन्।^{१६} राजा कल्याणमल्लले गांगुभाटलाई गढ सेराकोजमीन चारकिल्ला तोकी विर्ता सर्वकर माफ गरी १४ पंक्तिमा लेखिएको ५.१" लम्बाई ८.१" चौडाईको ताम्रपत्र प्रदान गरेका थिए। त्यो ताम्रपत्र हाल डोटी गढसेराका पण्डित गंगाराम जोशीसंग छ, जो पुस्तौंदेखि तेडी देवताका पुजारी रही आएका पनि छन्। सो पत्रमा सूर्य, चन्द्र, भूमण्डलका साक्षी राखिएका छन्।

प्रस्तुत शाके १३७४ को राजा कल्याणमल्लको ताम्रपत्रले एउटा नौलो जानकारी पनि दिन्छ, त्यो हो बर्मा परिवारका सदस्यहरू पनि दृष्टि साक्षीका रूपमा रहनु। यसबाट बर्माहरू डोटी राजाका भारदार भई बसेको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ। राजा निरयपालका पनाति, राजा नागमल्लका नाति र राजा रिपुमल्लका छोरा राजा कल्याण मल्ल शाके १३६८ (वि.सं. १५०३) को सेरोफेरोमा डोटीका राजा भएका थिए। शाके १३७२ (वि.सं. १५०७) को एक ताम्रपत्र पनि उनैको नामबाट प्रदान गरिएको छ।^{१७} प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्र शाके १३७४ (वि.सं. १५०९) ले राजा कल्याणमल्लका विषयमा अतिरिक्त जानकारी दिन सफल भएको छ। उनको राज्यकाल शाके १३६८ देखि शाके १४०२ सम्म रहेको थियो। उनका पौत्र एवं उत्तराधिकारी राजा कीर्तिमल्ल थिए। राजा कीर्तिमल्लको शाके १४०३ को अभिलेख पनि प्रकाशमा आएको छ। हालसम्म त्यो नै कीर्तिमल्लको पहिलो अभिलेख हो।^{१८} तर देवकान्त पन्तले कीर्तिमल्लभन्दा पूर्ववर्ति शासकको नाउँ संसारमल्लदेव भनी उल्लेख गरेका छन्।^{१९} तर संसारमल्लका कुनै अभिलेखहरू प्रकाशमा आएका छैनन्। राजा कल्याणमल्लद्वारा प्रदान गरिएको ताम्रपत्रमा दृष्टि साक्षी संसारब्रम्हको नाउँ छ। तर उनी कल्याणमल्लका पुत्र/उत्तराधिकारी थिए भन्ने कुनै संकेत छैन। राजा कल्याणमल्ल पछि संसारमल्लको नाउँ सूर्यमणि अधिकारीले पनि प्रकाशमा ल्याउनु भएको छ।^{२०} तसर्थ राजा कीर्तिमल्ल राजा कल्याणमल्लका नाति एवं संसारमल्लका छोरा हुन आएका छन्। तर राजा हुनु अगावै संसारमल्लको मृत्यु भएको बुझिन्छ। प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्र नं. १ मा पनि 'संसारब्रम्ह दैवा पिथैवम्म बकोटि' को नाम उत्कीर्ण छ। संसारब्रम्ह र संसार मल्ल एउटै व्यक्ति हुन वा फरक हुन् त्यस कुराको दुवै लगाउन सकिएको छैन।

राजा कल्याणमल्लका छोरा संसारमल्ल र उनका पुत्र कीर्तिमल्ल भनि माथि नै उल्लेख गरिसकिएको छ। राजा कीर्तिमल्लले आफ्ना बाजे बराज्यहरूले जस्तै ब्राम्हणहरूलाई

उनीहरूको निष्ठा र विद्याभ्यास परिक्षण गरी बिर्ता दिने र त्यसको प्रमाण स्वरूप ताम्रपत्र दिने गरेका थिए। त्यसै अनुरूप उनले मुजु भाटलाई ताम्रपत्र दिई सर्वाङ्ग माफी दिएका थिए। प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्र नं. २ को लिपि अलि अस्पष्ट छ। राजा कीर्तिमल्लको शाके १४०२ को एक ताम्रपत्र प्रकाशित भएको छ।^{२१} त्यसैगरी शाके १४०३ को राजा कीर्तिमल्लकै अर्को एक अभिलेख प्राप्त भएको छ।^{२२} यहाँ उनै कीर्तिमल्लको शाके १४०४ को ताम्रपत्रको उल्लेख गरिएको छ। रैका राजा कीर्तिमल्लको यो ताम्रपत्र डोटीको गढसेराका गंगाराम जोशीको घरमा छ। त्यसको लम्बाई ५" र चौडाई ७ $\frac{1}{2}$ " छ। यस ताम्रपत्रको लेख बाह्र पंक्तिमा छ। त्यो ताम्रपत्र हेर्दै जाँदा राजा कीर्तिमल्लका भारदारहरूमा देउवा, बोगटी, उप्रेती, पनेरु, बिष्ट, सेठी, साउद, भण्डारी, बोहरा, मध्याली, खड्गा, चोखाल, ठाकुर, मगरा (महरा), जोशी र भट्टहरू रहेका भेटिन्छन्। सो ताम्रपत्रमा 'राजकुमार श्री पृथ्वीमल्ल प्रतापमल्ल' को नाम उल्लेख गरिएको छ। डोटी वंशावलीमा कीर्तिमल्लका उत्तराधिकारीमा कहीं पृथ्वीमल्ल छ भने कहीं प्रतापमल्लको उल्लेख छ।^{२३} एक ठाउँमा पृथ्वीमल्ल र प्रतापमल्ल एउटै व्यक्ति भनिएको छ।^{२४} एक अनुसन्धाताले उनै कीर्तिमल्लको शाके १४१० को एक अभिलेख प्रकाशित गरेका छन्।^{२५} त्यहाँ पनि पृथ्वीमल्ल र प्रतापमल्ल यी दुवै नामको उल्लेख छ। त्यसो हुँदा ती दुवै नाउँ एउटै व्यक्तिका रहेछन् भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ।^{२६} अर्को एक वंशावलीमा राजा संसारमल्ललाई शनिसरिमल्ल भनिएको, उनका उत्तराधिकारीलाई प्रतापीमल्ल भनेर उल्लेख गरिएको छ।^{२७} कहिँ त संसारमल्ललाई सासमल्ल र उनका छोरालाई प्रतापमल्ल पनि भनिएको पाइन्छ।^{२८}

प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्रमा उल्लेख गरिएका मुजु भाट राजा कीर्तिमल्लका एक विश्वस्त व्यक्ति रहेकाले बिर्ता पाएका हुन्। भाट भन्नाले डोटीका राजाले प्रदान गरेका ताम्रपत्रहरूमा उल्लेख परेका भट्ट थर भएका ब्राम्हणहरूलाई जनाउने प्रचलित शब्द हो।^{२९} डोटीका मल्ल एवं शाही राजाहरूमा भट्टहरूको राम्रो प्रभाव थियो। राजा कीर्तिमल्लपछि डोटीको राज्य एवं प्रशासन प्रमुखको रूपमा राजा प्रतापमल्लको नाउँ आउँछ। उनी राजकुमार छँदै शाके १४०४ को ताम्रपत्रमा राजकुमारको रूपमा उनको उल्लेख भएको व्यहोरा माथि वर्णन गरियो। शाके १४१० को एक ताम्रपत्रले प्रतापमल्ल राजा रहेको जनाउँछ। उनै प्रतापमल्लको शाके १४४१ को एक ताम्रपत्र (नं. ३) बारे यहाँ केही कुरा लेख्न लागिएको हो। त्यस ताम्रपत्रले प्रतापमल्लको जीवनी बारे थप कुरा प्रकाशमा ल्याईदिएको छ। डोटी जिल्ला गढसेरा गा.पं. वार्ड नं. ६ निवासी दुर्गाप्रसाद भण्डारीसँग रहेको सो ताम्रपत्र ७ $\frac{1}{2}$ " लम्बाई र ८ $\frac{1}{2}$ " चौडाई आकारको छ। ताम्रपत्रमा तेह्र पंक्ति लेखिएका छन्। डोटीको वंशावलीमा राजा पृथ्वीमल्ल (प्रतापमल्ल) ले अश्वपति (तिब्बत ?), गजपति (भारत ?), नरपति (अरु राज्य), भूपति (राजाहरू), चक्रपति (सम्राट), जस्ता राजाहरूमाथि अधिकार गरी डोटीलाई बिस्तार गरेको वर्णन पाइन्छ।^{३०} त्यसै शाके १४४१ को ताम्रपत्रमा राजकुमार अर्जुनमल्लको नाम पनि उल्लिखित छ। एक वंशावलीले उनलाई अर्जुन शाही पनि भनेको छ।^{३१} अर्को एक कृतिमा डोटीका राजा नागमल्ल पछि अर्जुन शाहीको नाउँ पाइन्छ, जहाँ

बीचका राजाको नाउँ छुटेको छ।^{३२} त्यहाँ डोटी र कुमाउँको बाह्रवर्षे युद्धमा राजा नागमल्लले शाही वंशका शासकहरूलाई अपदस्थ गरी शासन गरेकाले अपदस्थ भएका शाहीहरूले कुमाउँसँग सहयोग लिई डोटीबाट नागमल्लको शक्ति नष्ट पारी शाहीहरूनै पुनः राजा भएको कुराको पनि उल्लेख छ। त्यस बेला ती अपदस्थ शाहीहरू कुमाउँको राजधानी चम्पावतमा शरण लिई बसेका थिए। डोटीका राजा नागमल्लले कुमाउँसँग युद्धगर्दा युद्धस्थलमा नै उनी मारिएका हुँदा शाहीहरू पुनः डोटीका राजा भएको कुरा उल्लेख छ।^{३३} तर डोटीको इतिहास पल्टाउँदा मल्लहरू भन्दा पहिले शाहहरू राजा नभै पालहरू नै राजा भएको कुरा पाइन्छ। डोटीको वंशावली अनुसार राजा नागमल्ल पछि क्रमशः रिपुमल्ल, कल्याणमल्ल, कीर्तिमल्ल, प्रतापमल्ल र अर्जुनमल्ल राजा भएको पाइन्छ। राजाहरूको यस क्रमबाट अनभिज्ञ एक अर्का लेखक पनि चिप्निएका छन्।^{३४} तसर्थ यहाँ 'रैका मल्ल' तथा 'रैका शाही' बारे केही विवेचना गर्नु उपयुक्त हुनेछ।

डोटीका मल्ल र शाही राजाहरूले आफूलाई अरू भन्दा विशिष्ट ठानेर 'रैका' भन्ने विशेषण प्रयोग गरेका छन्। प्रस्तुत प्रसंगमा शाके १४७७ को राजमल्लको ताम्रपत्र (नं. ४) बारे केही लेख्न उपयुक्त हुनेछ। टेढो प्रकारले अक्षर र पंक्तिहरू उत्कीर्ण गरिएको यो ताम्रपत्र ७.९" लम्बाइ ९" चौडाई आकारको छ। डोटी गढसेराका गंगाराम जोशीका घरमा रहेको सो ताम्रपत्रको दाहिने पट्टिको माथिल्लो टुप्पो भाँचिएको छ। ताम्रपत्रमा ११ पंक्ति लेखिएका छन्। प्रस्तुत ताम्रपत्र शाके १४७७ को भएकाले शाके १४८० को ताम्रपत्र राजमल्लको नभएर राजा भूपतिमल्लको ठहर्छ। यस ताम्रपत्रमा राजा भूपतिमल्लले आफ्ना बाबु राजमल्लको सपिँडी श्राद्धको संकल्प गरी जमीन दान दिएका थिए।^{३५}

राजा राजमल्लको शाके १४७७ को ताम्रपत्रबाट एउटा अर्को ऐतिहासिक रहस्य खुल्न गएको छ। उनको मृत्यु शाके १४८० मा भएको रहेछ र उनका छोरा भूपतिमल्लले आफ्ना बाबु राजमल्ल (अर्जुनमल्ल) को सपिँडी श्राद्ध गरी माटोदान गरेका थिए। बाह्रौं दिनमा मृतकलाई दिइने पिण्डलाई सपिँडी भनिन्छ।^{३६} त्यो शाके १४७७ को ताम्रपत्रले उनको राज्यकाल प्रमाणित गरि दिएको छ। शाके १४८० को ताम्रपत्रमा राजा भूपतिमल्लको उत्तराधिकारीको उल्लेख छैन। त्यसरी उत्तराधिकारी वा पुत्रको चर्चा नहुनुको अर्थ उनी निःसन्तान रहेको हुन संभव छ। किनकि राजा भूपतिमल्लको शेषपछि शाहीवंशको राज्यस्थापना भएको थियो। भूपति मल्ल पछिका राजा हरिशाहीका ताम्रपत्रमा आफ्ना बाबुको नाम उल्लेख नभएको र हरिशाहीलाई वंशावलीले पनि 'प्रतापी' एवं 'विजिज्ञिषु' भनेको हुँदा त्यस उपरान्त मल्लहरूको शासन अन्त्य भई शाहीहरूको शासन आरम्भ हुनु संभव छ।^{३७} अर्को कुरा, डोटीका रैका मल्लहरू शौनक गोत्रका हुन् भने रैका शाहीहरूको गोत्र गर्ग हो। राजा हरिशाहीले भारतीय मुसलमानी बादशाहहरूको नक्कल गरी 'साही' बनाएको भन्ने पनि तर्क उठेको छ।^{३८} त्यो पनि तर्क मात्रै हो जस्तो लाग्दछ। किनकि कास्कीका राजा कुलमण्डन शाह वि.सं. १५२४ देखि १५८२ को बीचमा 'खान' छोडी 'शाह' भएका थिए।^{३९} डोटीका राजा हरिशाहीको राज्यकाल वि.सं. १६५० हुनाले भारतीय मुसलमान शाहीहरूबाट प्रेरित हो भन्ने आधार प्राप्त भएको छैन। वंशावलीमा त

अर्जुनमल्ललाई (शाही) भनी उल्लेख गरिएको भएपनि अभिलेखमा उल्लेख नहुनाले राजा हरिशाही नै डोटीका पहिला शाही राजा देखिन्छन्।^{४०}

डोटीका राजा हरिशाहीको सम्बन्ध कत्युरीवंशी ललितशाहीका गोत्रिया भएको अनुमान एक लेखकले गरेका छन्।^{४१} राजा हरिशाही कालीन ऐतिहासिक कालक्रम एवं घटनाहरू अध्ययन गर्दा शाके १५०२ सम्म वा वि.सं. १६३७ सम्म पनि डोटी र कुमाउँबीच शत्रुता रहेको पाइन्छ। त्यो प्रतिद्वन्द्विता शाके १३७२ (वि.सं. १५०७) भन्दा अगाडिदेखि नै रहेको कुरा माथि पनि उल्लेख गरिसकिएको छ। यस विषयमा ई. १६८५ (वि.सं. १७४२) शाके १६०७ मा डोटी र कुमाउँका राजाहरूबीच एउटा निर्णायक युद्ध भएको थियो। त्यस युद्धमा डोटीको हार भएको हुनाले कुमाउँले डोटी अधीनस्थ कुमाउँ तर्फको महाकाली नदीदेखि पश्चिमपट्टिको भू-भाग हडप्यो।^{४२} यसबाट शाहीहरू डोटीका शासक भएपछि पनि कुमाउँसंग सम्बन्ध कटु रहेको बुझिन्छ।

प्रस्तुत निबन्धमा राजा हरिशाहीको शाके १५०२ को एक ताम्रपत्र (नं. ५) पनि समावेश गरिएको छ। शाके १५१५ को पनि एक ताम्रपत्र प्राप्त भएको थाहा भएको छ।^{४३} राजा हरिशाहीको राज्यकाल १५०२ शाकेबाट शुरू भएको रहेछ भन्ने आधार त्यस ताम्रपत्रले दिन्छ। अर्कोकुरा, राजा हरिशाहीलाई महिपत शाही भनिंदो रहेछ भन्ने पनि ज्ञात हुन्छ। डोटी गढसेरा गा.पं. ७ का गंगाराम जोशीकहाँ रहेको त्यो ताम्रत्र ६" लम्बाई र १० $\frac{1}{2}$ " चौडाईको छ। अस्पष्ट र अशुद्ध लिपिमा कुँदिएको सो ताम्रपत्रमा बाह्र पंक्ति अक्षर छन्। राजा हरिशाहीको हालसम्म प्राप्त त्यो पहिलो ताम्रपत्रले उनको राज्यकाललाई १३ वर्ष थप गरिदिएको छ। राजा हरिशाहीले काली गाउँकी सुगडावती भन्ने युवतीसंग विवाह गरेका थिए। उनकै समयमा मुगलहरूले कैलाली राजघाटको बाटो आक्रमण गर्न आउँदा डोटेला सेनाले उनीहरूलाई पराजित गरेको कुरा थाहा हुन्छ।^{४४} डोटीको इतिहासमा हरिशाही नामका दुई राजा भेटिँदा यिनमा हरिशाही प्रथम भनिएको छ। राजा हरिशाही भूपतिमल्लका उत्तराधिकारी रहे तापनि ती दुबै बीच के नाता थियो भन्ने कुरा प्रमाणबाट पुष्टि भएको छैन। राजा हरिशाही पछि कुमाउँका चन्द राजाहरूले शाहीहरूलाई डोटीको अधिकार दिएका थिए कि भन्ने अनुमान गर्ने ठाउँ बम्हाङका इतिहासले दिएको छ। सर्सती हेर्दा डोटी राज्यमा निम्न मितिमा निम्न शासकहरूको शासन रहेको पाइन्छ:

१. राजा निरयमपाल शाके १२७४ (वि.सं. १४०९)
२. राजा नागमल्ल (पाल) शाके १३०६ (वि.सं. १४४१)
३. राजा रिपुमल्ल शाके १३३४ (वि.सं. १४६९)
४. राजा कल्याणमल्ल शाके १३६८ (वि.सं. १५०३)
५. राजा संसारमल्ल शाके १३७२ (वि.सं. १५०९)
६. राजा कीर्तिमल्ल शाके १४०२ (वि.सं. १५३७)
७. राजा प्रतापमल्ल शाके १४१० (वि.सं. १५४५)
८. राजा अर्जुनमल्ल शाके १४७७ (वि.सं. १६११)
९. राजा भूपतिमल्ल शाके १४८० (वि.सं. १६१५)

१०. राजा हरिशाही शाके १५०२ (वि.सं. १६३७)

अभिलेखको मूल पाठ: खण्ड

ताम्रपत्र नं. १

१. ओ स्वस्ति श्री शाके १३७४ समये माघ सुदि पञ्चमीती
२. थौ सोम बासरे श्री राजाधिराज माहाराज कल्यान मल्ल
३. शिचरं जयतु रैकाज्यू पाञ्च संकल्प पसाकिइ गागु भाट जया
४. कर लै पाइ पला २ गडसिरा ब्रम्हणका छोरा नाति घा (घा)
५. मिको घालि पाई रउदमाज । सर्वेकर अकर सर्वोत्र सोत्र वि
६. वर्जितं आकासको ढिडो पातालकि निघ मुडिलि पेटिलि रा
७. ठ नाठ अपुतालि भाष पाई अत्र साक्षि सुर्येचन्द्र भुमंड
८. लका साक्षि संसार ब्रम्ह दैवा पिथै ब्रम्ह वकोटि गुजु सेठि
९. राना साउद जैतु भडारि देउराज वोहरो जयतु षडगा सु
१०. जान मघालि हरसिग विष्ट सुजान ठाकुर भैर चोषा
११. ल सुजान वोहरो । स्वदत्तं परदत्तां वा जेहरंति वसुंधरा।
१२. षष्टिवर्ष सहस्रानि विष्टायां जायते कृमि॥ जयत् पने
१३. रू जोगि भडारि रिठु जोइसि लिपितं॥ शुभं॥ केदारको केदान्ये
१४. केदारूञ्ज प्रतिमाष जय केदार॥

ताम्रपत्र नं. २

१. ओ स्वस्तिश्री शाके १४०४ समये फाल्गु
२. न वदि नवमी तिथौ सनि बासरे॥ राजा धि
३. राजश्री कीर्तिमल्ल पादाशिचरंजयतु॥ रैका
४. अ पाय संकल्प पशाकिइ अकन्यो मुजु भाट लै
५. संकल्प पावो (यो ?) भरा २ अधिको भरा ४ केश भाटको घा
६. लि संकल्प पावो सर्वकर अकर सर्व श्रात्र विवर्जित
७. करि संकल्प पावो अत्र साक्षि चन्द्र सूर्य भूमण्डलका
८. साक्षि राजकुमार श्री पृथ्वीमल्ल प्रतापमल्ल देउवा
९. वगोटि उप्रेति पनेरू बिष्ट सेठि साउद भडारि वो
१०. हरो मघालि षडगा चोषाल ठाकुर वोहरो चौग
११. दै महग्र साक्षि लिपितं सुर्जु जोइसि अन्यथा
१२. नास्ति॥ वीठु सेठिके कचा औरषा (क्षा ?) पत्र॥

ताम्रपत्र नं. ३

१. ओ स्वस्ती श्री गणेशायनम् श्री शाके १४४१

२. सुदी आषाढ मासे सुल्कपषे (क्षे ?) चौधम्या तिथौ भौ
३. म वासरे श्री राजाधीराय माहाराय प्रताप
४. मंल पादा चीरं जयतु रैकाज्यु पाय भाष
५. पसाकी अक्रनी चट भाटलै पाई भाषरे जो
६. सी पाइ ठुलाघरीषेत भराई अत्र साषी (क्षी ?) चन्द्र
७. सुर्ज भूमण्डलका साषी मेदुगोसाइ राजमं
८. ल गोसाइ देउवा वगोटी साउद भडारि वोरौ
९. मधलिं षडगा षीमु वीष्ट सुना वीष्ट राम
१०. वोरौ नार चोखाल दाष ठाकुर मुस चोषा
११. ल हुगरू बीष्ट सानसानी सवकर अकर
१२. लेषीत साषी रूदुसेठी वैआल अनेथा
१३. नास्ती सुभं

ताम्रपत्र नं. ४

१. स्वस्तीश्री शाके १४७७ मासे कार्तिक ति
२. थौ पंचमी वारे बुध रोहि (णी ?) श्री राजाधिराज
३. महाराज राजमल्ल चिरं जयतु राजम त
४. ल्ल गोसाईज्यु लैई भगत वोराको डाडा
५. डालिको फेर प्रकाशियो भया जै जगाई
६. लै पाया स्व वु ना अ क अत्र साषि चंद्रसुर्य भुमंड
७. लका साषि मेगमल्ल मानिक देवा मेग वोगटि राई
८. साउद डगरू भंडारि गासु जोसी हसुविष्ट लिउनो रे
९. आज चोषा रौन ठाकुबाट वोरौ लिषित साषि ना
१०. रद पुजारो स्वदत्तं परदत्तां वा जो हंति वसु
११. धरा षष्टिवर्ष सहश्रानि विष्टा जातु

ताम्रपत्र नं. ५

१. राम ॐ स्वस्ति श्री १५०२ समय वैशाक मासे शुक्ल पक्षे दशम तेथौ
२. बुधवासरे सीरिराजधीराज माहाराज महिपत साई हरिसाई पादा अ
३. गे चिरंजयतु रैका जिउ पायलै मय चितई भगिरथ भडारिले पाई मघ
४. रो वोराकि करि वास गोड समेत पाव गडकि वडकि लेककि ईज
५. रि सर्वकर अकरि सरबदोष विवर्जित नेरोलिलाई दिनि गाईको मांस का
६. गको षुटो स्वदत्तं परदत्तं वा जे हरंती वसुंधरा षष्टिवर्ष सहश्र वर्षानि विटिजा
७. यते क्रिमी अत्र साकि (क्षी ?) चन्द्र सुर्ज भुमंडलका साकि हुगरू गोसाव दिपा देउवा

८. राउ वोगटी राई साउद साल साउद हासा भडारी हरी उपरेती गोपी पने
९. रू जस षडाइत जइत बोरो मेग मटाली रंजित विष्ट ससारू विष्ट विरि जो
१०. इसि किसनजा मानिक ठाकुर समुद सानि अजित चोषाल ना
११. षत वोरो मारा सेटीको कडारे राइको रकपुरब रो ।।।
१२. रब सानि षडक साउद जज रोकाय अनेता नास्ति

प्रमाण टिप्पणी खण्ड

१. Surya Mani Adhikari, *The Khasa Kingdom of Western Nepal (1207-1404)* (Kathmandu: History Instruction Committee T.U., Kirtipur, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, 1982) PP. 30-34.
२. कल्हणका राजतरंगिणिका ६ : १७५, ८ : १४६६।
३. Binod Bihari, "Two Inscriptions of Bodh Gaya" *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. XII, (1913- 1914), P.30.
४. शिवप्रसाद डबराल, *उत्तराखण्डका राजनैतिक व सांस्कृतिक इतिहास* (गढावाल: बीरगाथा प्रकाशन, २०२६) पृष्ठ ५१२।
५. यहाँ उल्लेख गरिएका वर्माहरूले डोटीलाई अधिकारमा लिन सकेनन्। डोटीका राजा कल्याणमल्लको यहाँ प्रस्तुत ताम्रमत्रका दृष्टिसाक्षिका रूपमा वर्माहरू देखिनाले डोटीमा पनि उनीहरू भारदार भएको बुझिन्छ जसरी पहिले सिंजा दरबारमा थिए।
६. राजाराम सुवेदी, "डोटी बाइसी हो कि होइन" *कन्ट्रिब्युसन्स टु नेपालिज स्टडिज* भोल १४, नं.१ (पौष, २०४३), पृष्ठ ६३-९३।
७. वंम वा वर्मा थरका भारदारहरूले राजा सूर्यमल्ललाई सहयोग गरी डोटीलाई पुनः अधीनमा पारेका कुरा उनका समयका ताम्रमत्रमा वर्माहरू साक्षि रहेका देखिनाले स्पष्ट हुन्छ।
८. रमेशजङ्ग थापा (सं.), *ऐतिहासिक पत्रस्तंभ* "प्राचीन नेपाल, संख्या ४०, (श्रावण, २०३४), पृष्ठ ३४। राजाराम सुवेदी, "उदुमवरपुरी" *प्राचीन नेपाल, संख्या ८३, (भाद्र, आश्विन, २०४१), पृष्ठ २२-२८।* Suryamani Adhikari, op.cit. Foot note 1 pp. 90-93.
९. A. H. Franke, *Ladakh the Mysterious Land* (New Delhi: cosmo Publications, 1974) pp. 64-65.
१०. H.E. Richardson, *Tibet and its History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962) P. 35.
११. रमेशजङ्ग, *पूर्ववत्*, टिप्पणी ८, पृष्ठ १२३- १२४।
१२. धनवज्र वज्राचार्य र टेकवहादुर श्रेष्ठ, *नुवाकोटको ऐतिहासिक रूपरेखा* (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान, २०३२), पृष्ठ, ४२- ४३।

१३. राजाराम सुवेदी, "वभाङ्का बाह्र अभिलेखहरू" कन्ट्रिब्यूसन्स टु नेपालिज स्टडिज भोलुम् ६ नं.२, (असार, २०३६) पृष्ठ ७९-९६।
१४. ऐजन, पृष्ठ, ९६।
१५. Raja Ram subedee, *History of Bajhang (1503-1848 B.S)* Kathmandu. Rector's Office T.U. Unpublicshed Ph.D. Thesis 1986) P. 33.
१६. देवकान्तपन्त, *डोटेलीलोक साहित्य* (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अध्ययन संस्थान २०३२। पृष्ठ ८६-९२।
१७. ऐजन, पृष्ठ, ८६-८८।
१८. शंकरमान राजवंशी, "सेती महाकाली भ्रमणको ऐतिहासिक सारांश: डोटीको राजनीतिक इतिहासको रूपरेखा" *प्राचीन नेपाल*, संख्या ३०-३९ (माघ, २०३९, बैशाख २०३४० पृ. - १२१।
१९. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी १६, पृष्ठ, ७९।
२०. डा. सूर्यमणि अधिकारी, *पश्चिम नेपालको ऐतिहासिक अन्वेषण* (काठमाडौं: नेपाल र एशियाली अनुसन्धान केन्द्र, २०४३), पृष्ठ, ५२ - ५६।
२१. ऐजन, पृष्ठ ५६, ६६।
२२. शंकरमान राजवंशी, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी १८, पृष्ठ, १२१।
२३. ऐजन
२४. सूर्यमणि अधिकारी, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी २०, पृष्ठ, ५६ - ६६।
२५. पूर्णप्रकाश नेपाल, *सेतीका तारा* (विराटनगर: हिमाली सौगात प्रकाशन, २०३४), पृ. २४८।
२६. राजाराम सुवेदी, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी, १३, पृष्ठ, ८९।
२७. ऐजन।
२८. योगी नरहरिनाथ, *इतिहास प्रकाशमा सन्धिपत्र संग्रह*, भाग- १, (दाङ: आध्यात्मिक परिषद, २०२२), पृष्ठ, ७४७।
२९. आजकल भाट भन्नाले राना भाट भन्ने पनि बुझिन्छ तर पहिले त्यो राजाभाट थरलाई राना मात्र भनिन्थ्यो भन्ने प्रमाणहरू प्राप्त भएका छन्।
३०. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी १६, पृष्ठ, ७४७।
३१. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी २८, पृष्ठ, ७४७।
३२. Edwin T. Atkinson, *Kumaon Hills* (Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1974), PP. 529-530.
३३. ऐजन।
३४. राहुल सांकृत्यायन, *कुमाँऊ* (वाराणशी: ज्ञानमण्डल लि. २०२५), पृष्ठ, ७०-७२।
३५. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी २८, पृष्ठ, ७४८।
३६. *नेपाली बृहत् शब्दकोश* (काठमाडौं: नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठान २०४०) पृ. १३०

३७. "भूपति शाहीका बडेराजा हरिसाहीकि पाट सरकको लिसनो नही पातालको कोदालो नही तनै राई राजानकि जीतवार अगम जामुगढ गोकुलै छीन कीर्तान कपटिया तनै राई राजानकि जीतवार जतनाभाट पंछी कीर्तन बोलै ततना वीर तनको जीतवार राय पृथ्वी मै इनराज हरिसाही सौ कोई जुभारो नही बडेराजा हरिसाहीको खाणो प्रकाशियो" देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी, पृष्ठ, १६, पृष्ठ ९४।
३८. बाबुराम आचार्य, श्री ५ बडामहाराजधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाह (संक्षिप्त जीवनी) भाग-१ (काठमाडौं: श्री ५ महाराजधिराजका प्रेस सचिवालय, २०२४), पृष्ठ ३।
३९. Robert Scrooder, *Ecological Change in Rural Nepal: The case of Batulechaur* (Washington: University of washington, 1977), P, 49.
४०. योगी नरहरिनाथ, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी २८, पृष्ठ ७४७ सूर्यमणि अधिकारी, पूर्ववत् टिप्पणी, २०, पृष्ठ ५७।
४१. शंकरमान रानवंशी, पूर्ववत् टिप्पणी, १८, पृष्ठ, १२१।
४२. साफल्य अमात्य, "महाकाली अञ्चलको पूरातात्विक अन्वेषण" प्राचीन नेपाल संख्या ११ (२०२९ वैशाख), पृष्ठ, ३३-३४।
४३. देवकान्त पन्त, पूर्ववत्, टिप्पणी १९, पृष्ठ ८६।
४४. ऐजन, पृष्ठ, १११-११२।
४५. डोटीका पछिल्ला राजाहरूको वर्णन पनि पछि प्रस्तुत गर्ने विचार छ यस लेखमा उल्लिखित पाँचवटै ताम्रपत्रका शिशाकलम रगडेर सेतो कागजमा उतार गरिएका प्रतिलिपि पनि लेखकसंग सुरक्षित छन्।

SOLID WASTE POLLUTION VERSUS SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN HIGH MOUNTAIN ENVIRONMENT: A CASE STUDY OF SAGARMATHA NATIONAL PARK OF KHUMBU REGION, NEPAL

Khadga Basnet

Department of Zoology
Patan Multiple Campus
Tribhuvan University

Introduction

Any waste that does not go up the stack or down the drain is solid waste. It is useless, unwanted or discarded material of industrial production and consumption. Solid waste which arises in association with diverse human activities (ESA 1991; Basnet 1993) is a major threat to the sustainable utilization of natural resources—air, water, soil, and natural scenery. Sustainable utilization means using renewable resources in a manner that does not eliminate or degrade them or otherwise diminish their renewable usefulness for future generations (Goodland and Ledec 1987; WCED 1987) while maintaining effectively constant stocks of natural resources (Howe 1979; Pearce, Barbier, and Markandya 1988).

The increasing quantity of solid waste is a serious environmental problem in Sagarmatha National Park, Khumbu (Basnet 1984), showing that even high altitude areas of Nepal are faced with pollution dilemma. Tourists—trekker, mountaineers, and others—dispose tins, cans, bottles, plastic bags, and papers on trails and camp sites. Similarly, lodges and hotels dispose such unwanted materials in the vicinity and pollute the environment. As a result, all the trekking routes and the camping places from Namche (3,440 m) to the Base Camp (5,356) of the Mt. Everest (8,848 m), are littered. Because of such visual pollution, the tourist route from Lamosangu to Namche was nicknamed as 'garbage trail' (Shrestha 1982). However, no studies or surveys have been conducted for planning and mitigating serious problems mainly because (1) development efforts mainly concentrate in urban areas (e.g., solid waste management in Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur) which are increasing both in size and number (NPC 1992), (2) lack of environmental

awareness and public participation (Basnet 1992), (3) lack of understanding of the complex mountain ecosystem and the long-term impact of tourism on the sustainability of the whole system (Bjonness 1983; Basnet 1994). Therefore, the main objective of this study was to investigate and document the nature and the extent of solid wastes generated in Sagarmatha National Park. Guiding questions of the investigations were: What were the major sources of solid wastes? What were their major types and composition? What were the spatial and temporal pattern of their distribution? How extensive (concentration) was the solid waste pollution? What are the long-term ecological problems and their solutions for the sustainable use of high altitude natural resources?

Methods of Investigation

Study site: The study was conducted in Sagarmatha (Mt. Everest) National Park of Khumbu, Nepal. The park covers about 1,248 sq. km in the Eastern Himalayas of Nepal. It is a world heritage site. Mt. Everest, the highest mountain in the world, several other world-famous peaks, and the indigenous Sherpa culture of the park attract increasing numbers of tourists every year from around the world. At present, the park receives around 16,000 trekkers and mountaineers annually (Sagarmatha National Park 1992; The Rising Nepal, 7 March, 1993).

Sampling: Sampling sites were selected along the tourist trekking trail from Namche to the Base Camp of Mt. Everest (fig. 1). The vicinities of resting places such as hotels, lodges, and camp sites were taken as the main sites. More emphasis was given to the higher altitudes from Lobuche (4,930 m) and beyond in sampling and collecting data.

Analysis: Physical analysis of solid wastes included sorting (categorizing), counting, measuring, and weighing. Solid waste disposal was broadly divided into two categories: rubbish and garbage. Rubbish included non-combustible and primarily inorganic materials, such as metals and glass while garbage included combustible and primarily organic materials such as plastics, papers, vegetable wastes and so on (Adedibu 1983; Lohani et al. 1984). From Gorakhshep (5,200 m), the last lodging place before the Base Camp of Mt. Everest, about 3,175 m distance, each kind of disposal was counted at 2 m on either side of the road, thus covering about 12,700 sq.m. In the Base Camp and other main sites, the disposal piles were measured directly, 1 X 1 m quadrat plots were taken randomly; solid wastes in those plots were broadly classified (Lohani et al. 1984), and the different components in each of them were sorted, counted, and weighed by a spring balance. On the peak of

Kalapathar (5,545 m), all kinds of litter, tins, cans, and bottles scattered in certain area were counted to examine the general composition of the solid wastes at high altitude. Comparative analysis of different categories of solid waste disposal in different sites was done.

Research findings and Discussions

Sources of solid waste: Observations and simple grade point analysis showed that tourists and tourist associated activities were the major source of solid waste pollution in the Mt. Everest area (Table 1). Mountaineers and climbers, followed by lodges and hotels, and trekkers were the top polluters, generating more than 90% of the total solid waste disposal in the area. Local people involved in subsistence agriculture and officials or short-term visitors like researchers were minor polluters.

**Table 1: Polluters and their Rank
(from highest to lowest)**

Polluter	Ranks	Remarks
Mountaineers and climbers	1	including porters and guides
Lodges and hotel	2	associated with tourism
Trekker	3	including porters and guides
Local people	4	involved in subsistence agriculture
Other-e.g. officials	5	small number

Composition of Solid Waster Disposal

Physical analyses of the solid wastes of Sagarmatha National Park are presented in tables 2 and 3. Both rubbish and garbage (Adedibu 1983; Lohani et al. 1984) were abundant in Khumbu disposal. Rubbish formed the major component of the solid wastes, whereas garbage formed the minor fraction. The fraction of rubbish–metals (tins, cans, etc.) and glass–was very high everywhere. Sometimes it made up 100% (tables 2 and 3), as in the Base Camp of Mt. Everest. On an average, rubbish formed more than 66% of the total weights (range 66-78%) and more than 54% of the total numbers (range 54 - 80%). This reflected and nature of the high altitude solid waste, as mountaineers and trekkers travel light and carry 'quick fix' food and other items.

Spatial and Temporal Pattern

Rubbish formed 59% of the total numbers and 66% of the total weights of the waste disposal in the Base Camp (tables 2 and 3). In Gorakshep and Lobuche, rubbish represented 78% and 69% respectively of the total weights

of the solid waste. In the total counts of the wastes, Kalapathar had the highest percentage (80%) of rubbish in the Khumbu region. Recent products (e.g., tins, bottles, and plastics) were more abundant than the old ones in every site.

The density shows the extent of solid wastes in Khumbu (tables 2 and 3). Average densities of solid wastes (75 kg/m and 134 n/m) in the Base Camp were higher than the average densities in Gorakshap and Lobuche (tables 2 and 3). Such high density was due to the greater concentration and the longer period of stay of tourists, especially climbers and their guides and porters, in the Base Camp than in Gorakshap and Lobuche. Waste disposal accumulated year after year because of low temperature and the limited capacity of nature to dilute, disperse, and degrade them. From Gorakshap to the Base Camp route, on an average one item of solid waste disposal (bottles, tins, cans, plastic bags, papers) in every 4 m was recorded.

Long-term Effects of Solid Waste Pollution

There are both direct and indirect effects of pollution on environment and human welfare (e.g., Woodwell 1972; Munn et al. 1977). Direct effects range from the damage of materials and loss of aesthetic importance to the impairment of human health, thus creating socioeconomic impacts. Indirect effects are mainly long-term effects which range from change in ecosystem structure and behaviour to the climate change which in turn will affect socio-economy and the sustainability of the region (Basnet 1993). The major concern is the vicious circle situation of solid waste pollution because (i) beyond a certain level, pollution reduces the assimilative capacity of ecosystems, (ii) high altitude, low temperature, and possible slow microbial activities make the Mt. Everest area susceptible for environmental degradation.

Present Development

Realizing the ever-growing problem, the Ministry of Tourism in cooperation with the Police Mountaineering and Adventure Foundation and the Trekking Agents, Association of Nepal undertook a cleaning campaign in 1984 along the Sagarmatha trail and the Base Camp area of the World's highest mountain (The *Rising Nepal*, 6 June, 1984). Food containers dating from 1959 were also recorded during the cleaning campaign, and it is not surprising that 3-4 metric tones of garbage and rubbish were carried to Gorakshap for burial. This campaign was followed by many other national and international programs such as Himalayan Trust, Hotel Management and Tourism Training Center activities, Sagarmatha Pollution Control Project, and The Everest Environmental Expedition Project (Naumann 1993).

Conclusion and Recommendation

Solid waste pollution is identified as a component problem of the whole ecological and environmental complex which can be solved by immediate actions such as creating public awareness and cooperation, and proper long-term planning for the future development of ecotourism activities (Basnet 1992, 1993). This will improve the quality of life while using the resources within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystem (IUCN 1991).

Both technical and nontechnical solutions are needed to tackle this problem. There are few technical options for managing and utilizing the solid wastes in such remote areas where material conversions, reclamations, are recycling are not easy. The most practical approach is to bury the wastes generated or adopting the principle 'dispose your waste in the most practical way today, and tomorrow will take care of itself'. Moreover, investing a little extra money and time and being environment consciousness ensure the sustainability of high altitude natural resources which will be passed from generation to generation for their use. Some of the recent developments described above are positive signs for achieving sustainable development of Sagarmatha National Park (Basnet 1993). Moreover, their lesson learnt from Sagarmatha National Park must be extended to other new protected areas which are of tourist interest for example, Barun National Park and Conservation Area. Prevention is better than cure.

Acknowledgements

Most of the data used in this article were collected during March through September in 1984 when I was involved as a project Ecologist of the Mountain Hazards Mapping Project of the United Nations University, Tokyo and National Committee for Mar and Biosphere, Nepal. I wish to thank the project personnel, especially Narendra Khanal who assisted me during this time-consuming survey. Data analysis and writing were done when I was a visiting scientist (1992/93) sponsored by the Japanese Government and SAREC at the International Center for Theoretical Physics, Italy. Comments by an anonymous reviewer improved the paper.

Map

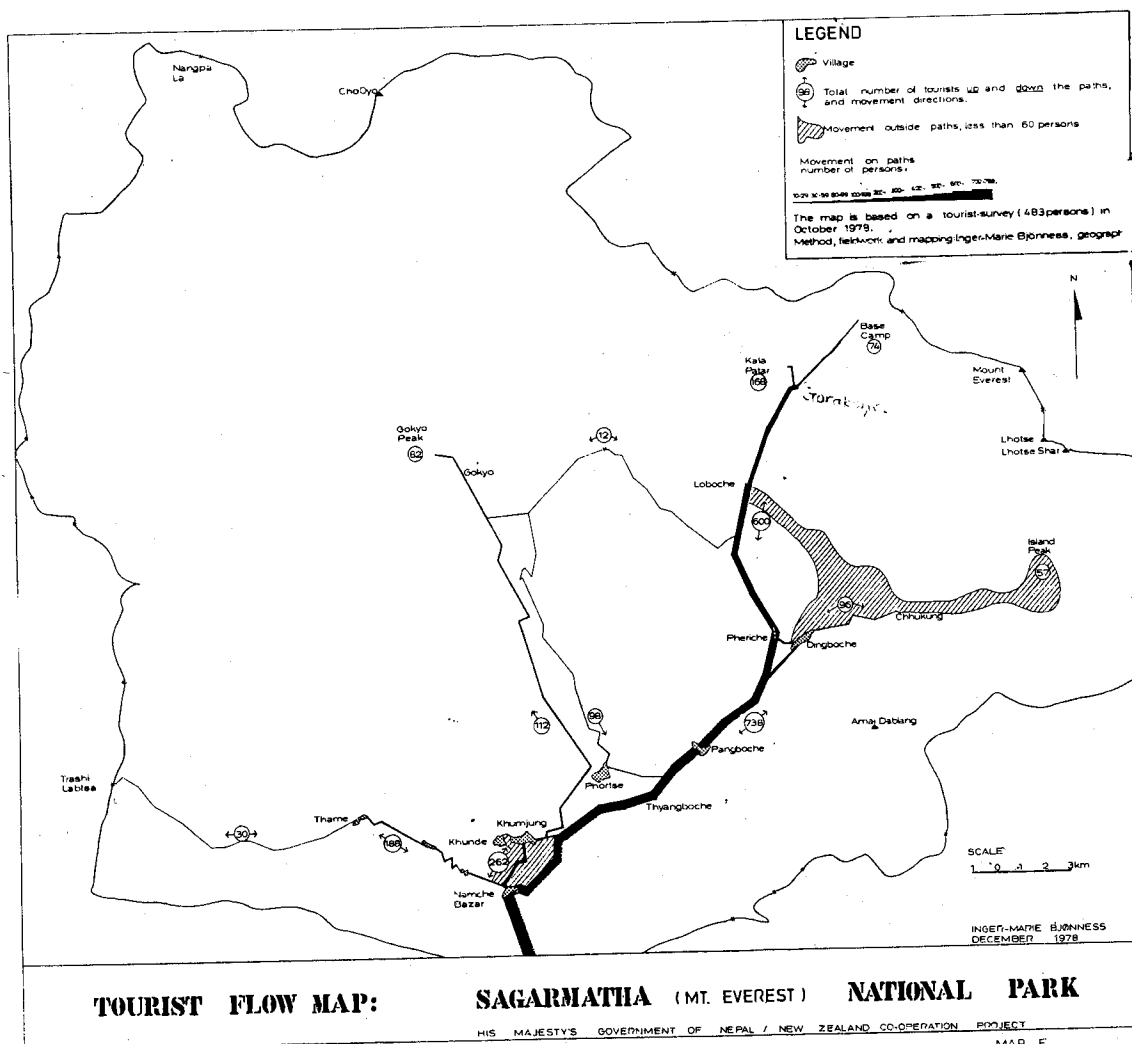


Table 2: Comparative Solid Waste Analysis (No.%) of different sites

(1) Base Camp

Plot No.	Rubbish			Carbage					Density n/m ²	Average Density
	Metal	Class	Avg. %	Veg.	Plastic	paper	Other	Ave %		
1.	34.41	4.30	59		11.83	40.86	8.60		93	134
2.		40.57			35.90	0.61*	22.92		493	
3.		100.0							29	
4.		4.14			10.1	75.15	10.65	41	169	
5.	39.0	2.0			16.0	36.0	7.0		100	
6.	41.77	4.71			16.47	29.41	7.65		162	
7.	100.0								17	
8.	100.0								10	

(2) Gorakshep

1.	53.93	4.49	58		10.11	20.23	11.24	42	89	89
----	-------	------	----	--	-------	-------	-------	----	----	----

(3) Lobuche

1.	33.72	6.98	54		9.30	30.23	19.77		86	69
2.	20.41	28.57			10.20	26.53	14.29	46	49	
3.	49.32	23.29			12.33	15.07			73	

(4) Gorakshep - Rase Camp

1.	61.01	1.59	63		12.73	11.80	12.87	37		
----	-------	------	----	--	-------	-------	-------	----	--	--

(5) Kalapathar

1.	40.17	40.17	80		6.84	12.82		20		
----	-------	-------	----	--	------	-------	--	----	--	--

* very large packing boxes.

Table 3: Comparative Solid Waste Analysis (wt %) of different sites.**(1) Base Camp**

Plot No.	Rubbish			Carbage					Density n/m ²	Average Density
	Metal	Class	Avg. %	Veg.	Plastic	paper	Other	Ave %		
1.	41.11	17.23	66	14.04	1.4	14.04	12.17	34	59.33	74.50
2.		23.50		5.46	19.13	30.06	21.86		126.21	
3.		100.0							84.38	
4.		25.61		10.99	1.70	36.35	25.36		47.32	
5.	37.19	7.77			1.65	45.46	7.93		60.50	
6.	47.65	26.72			3.25	11.55	10.83		69.25	
7.	100.0									
8.	100.0									

(2) Gorakshep

1.	64.7	13.16	78		1.43	10.97	9.76	22	65.14	65.14
----	------	-------	----	--	------	-------	------	----	-------	-------

(3) Lobuche

1.	27.14	19.49	69	19.83	0.84	24.36	8.35	31	57.48	65.31
2.	18.36	52.92			0.86	18.36	9.50		51.44	
3.	29.12	59.77			1.15	9.96			87.0	

References

- Adedibu, A.A. 1983. "Solid waste planning in the third world." *Waste Mage* (University of Ilorin, Nigeria) 73:288-293.
- Basnet, K. 1984. "Solid waste pollution in Sagarmatha National Park: an environmental problem in high mountain." A Report to MAB, Kathmandu. pp 7.
- Basnet, K. 1991. "Deforestation as a consequence of firewood demand in Sagarmatha National park of Khumbu, Nepal." *Tribhuvan University Journal*, 15:23-29.
- Basnet, K. 1992. "Conservation practice in Nepal: Past and present." *Ambio* 29:290-293.
- Basnet, K. 1993. "Sagarmatha National Park: conservation for sustainable development." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* 19:1, pp. 121-127.
- Bjonness, I.M. 1983. "External Economic Dependency and Changing Human Adjustment of Marginal Environment in the High Himalayas, Nepal." *Mountain Research and Development*, 3:263-272.

- Goodland, R. and G. Ledec. 1987. "Neoclassical Economics and Principles of Sustainable Development." *Ecological Modelling* 38:36.
- Howe, C. 1979. *Natural Resource Economics*. New York: Wiley.
- IUCN. 1991. *Caring for the Earth*. Switzerland: Gland.
- Lohani, B. N., G. Todino and R. Jindal. 1984. "Recycling of solid wastes." *Environmental Sanitation Reviews* 13/14.
- Munn, R. E., M.L. Phillips, and H.P. Sanderson. 1977. "Environmental Effects of Air Pollution—Implication for Air Quality Criteria, Air Quality Standard and Emission Standard. *Science of Total Environment* 8:53-87.
- National Planning Commission (NPC). 1992. *Statistical Pocket Book of Nepal*. HMG of Nepal: Central Bureau of Statistics.
- Naumann, C. 1993. Just Trekking: "The 1992 Everest Environmental Expedition." *Ecotrek* 5: 2-3
- Pearce, D.W., E.B. Barbier, and A. Markandya 1988. *Sustainable development and Cost Benefit Analysis*. London: London Environmental Economics Center, London.
- Sagarmatha National Park. 1992. "Visitors Record."
- Shrestha, K. K. 1984. "The Impact of Tourism on Mountain Environment." *Mountain Environment and Development*. Kathmandu: Sahayogi Press, pp. 85-95.
- The Rising Nepal*. 1984. "Clean-up of Sagarmatha Trail," 6 June.
- The Rising Nepal*. 1993. "Basic Lodge Owners and Operating Training." 7 march.
- Woodwell, G. M. 1970. "Effects of Pollution on the Structure and Physiology of Ecosystems." *Science*, 168:429-433.
- World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) 1987. *Our Common Future*. Cambridge, UK: Oxford University press.

BOOK REVIEW

The Gurungs: A Himalayan Population of Nepal. 1993. Bernard Pignède. English edition by Sarah Harrison and Alan Macfarlane. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar. Pages 423. Price: NRs. 1350/-

The book on the Gurungs by Bernard Pignède is perhaps the first most comprehensive ethnographic work to come out by anyone on Nepal yet. The present book is an English edition of it translated from the French original published by Mouton in 1966. It is a welcome thing to have this book available in English, for it will give the Nepali readership inhibited by its lack of knowledge in French its first chance to unravel the contents of the whole book. Before this full-length translation came out, a little glimpse of Pignède's work was possible to have through a publication of his "Gurung Clan Organization and Hierarchy" in English, forming the fifth chapter of his book, in *Contributions to Indian Sociology* (VI, pp. 102-109, 1962), with Louis Dumont's effort. There is naturally a difference to see in the two styles of rendering. Dumont's translation looks more fluent and unconstricted, whereas the present fuller translation strives for an exact and literal rendering. But it has needed a far greater labour and more organizational skill on the part of the British translators to give the book its present shape and form for which our deep gratitude must go to them.

Pignède's approach to ethnography has been, as he mentions it, to maintain a balance between the material, social and religious aspects of the Gurungs. The village ethnography on the Gurungs has been based mainly, if not entirely, on the study of single Gurung village of Mohoriya in the western extremities of the Gurung territory in Central Nepal's hills. It is truly amazing what a tremendous amount of information he has been able to compile together about the Gurungs in a short time of about nine months altogether (the field work period of which was just about five months only), considering that he was a relative novice in this field and had had no prior formal training as an anthropologist. The information on the Gurung is also culled from his observation of these people in other villages in Kaski and Lamjung districts where he travelled at the same time. Obviously, this has helped him to view Gurungs broadly and rising above a single village

Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (January 1993).
Copyright © 1993 CNAS/TU

prospective. As he has said in his introduction, he favours to look at the Gurungs not as an isolated group, but forming very much part of a larger setting in Nepal as well as Central and South Asia. It was most tragic that Bernard Pignède had to die so prematurely at an early young age of twenty-nine, even before he could check and revise his dissertation before publication. Louis Dumont has paid rich tributes to Pignède for the great promise he had shown to be an anthropological talent through just that single, unfinished work. There were not many anthropologists attracted to work in Nepal in the late 50s, when he first came to work. At that time, C. von Furer-Haimendorf was his far more formidable and experienced predecessor by several years in Nepal. But Pignède's approach to ethnography was fresher and more direct, and he had a greater instinct for minute empirical details, breaking away from the classical mould of anthropology that Haimendorf had represented. Pignède's book could be said to be germane to and have laid the basis for more exhaustive works on the Gurungs to be done later by A. Macfarlane (1976), D. Messerschmidt (1976) and S. Strickland (1982) in their respective themes.

It would, however, be wrong to look at the present English edition of Pignède's work to be a faithful and exact reproduction of its 1966 French version, because it has added several new things to it which were absent in the French edition. Apart from the preface by the English translators, which is quite natural and essential to have, this edition contains remembrance about Pignède penned by his former Gurung assistant and informant, an addition of ten appendixes numbered from A to J and gathered under the theme 'Further comments on Pignède's work and the situation among the Gurung today' and, finally, an annotation of extensive supplementary notes, freely commented upon by the translators and his former informant, as well as by other knowledgeable Gurungs, claimed so by the translators, at the end. Has all this addition been done to augment Pignède's conclusion or to cast doubt on the merit of it remains somewhat unclear. Why should a work basically constituting a translation think of making so much additions and deletions, however trivial such deletions might be, from the original which confuses and distracts from the author? The translators say in their preface:

Pignède made a number of references to particular people in the village of Mohoriya.

These were not always very flattering, and because we felt that they might cause some unhappiness we have omitted their names. The village plans (Figs. 6 and 7) have also been modified to the same end.

The supplementary notes provide additional information not only on factual socio-economic changes taking place among the Gurungs today since Pignède's work, based on the findings of the translators collated later, (themselves anthropologists of standing with their own works on the Gurung), they also include seemingly free comments from Gurung residents of the area who seek to contradict and invalidate Pignède with their subjective perceptions. To give an example, in page 49 Pignède has written: "Gurung society divides itself into two groups, of which, the first, Carjat, is superior to the second, Solahjat." If we read through the pages of Pignède's book (pp. 157-195) we know that he was not unaware of what many Gurungs were saying even in his time in disregarding the efficacy of such a division. Despite this, if he still stuck to his conclusions, it is his prerogatives as an author. He must have weighed everything as a social scientist endowed with a broader comparative perspective before coming to his own conclusions. We do not want to imply from this that authors do not commit mistakes in what they write. But it is a dishonour to contradict someone in his own book on a matter of opinion when he is not around to check any longer. Pignède's above line has been allowed to be commented upon in more than one place in the supplementary notes by his former Gurung informant. In one such comment he says: "The word jat has created much discontent among the Gurungs. The Gurung vamsavali was reconstructed by Brahmins ... In fact, there was no concept of caste among them and it was not part of their social system" (Supplementary Note 18). In fact, there is not lama clan in the Gurung community. Any person from any clan who learns the science of the Lama can be called a "Lama". Even a Brahmin can be called a "Lama" if he has learned the ritual texts and performs as a "Lama" (Supplementary Note 61). This gives the reader an impression that translators probably acted under pressure from some Gurungs to have Pignède modified. New perceptions are emerging and a lot of ethnic feelings seem to be visible in the horizon. What the translators have called the "periods of dramatic economic and political change" is probable a reference to this. However, this may be, one cannot still help feeling that if Pignède needs criticizing or contradicting, it should not have been done in his own book to celebrate him, but done separately. The new history of the Gurungs freshly narrated by the Gurung authors and cited in full in appendix J is similarly intended to correct the so-called "Brahmin-imposed" origin legends about the Gurung community on which Pignède is said to have heavily relied. However, this so-called new history too has no greater ring of plausibility than the traditional history of the Gurungs, and looks equally contrived.

It has been customary for some people these days to attribute every inconvenient thing and every inconvenient idea to the Brahmins. For them,

the Brahmins are Nepal's *bette-noires*. This is no place to enter a controversy on this subject here. Still, one thing should be mentioned in passing. The idea of the division between Car-jat and Sorha-jat Gurungs has been put down to Brahmanic influence. One cannot, however, reasonably understand why the Brahmins should have done so with respect only to the Gurungs, and not with the Magars, to give but one obvious example. How can this idea find such a widespread currency and for so long consistently, if this notion was not a priori ingrained in the Gurungs somehow? The worst period of Hindu feudalistic rule in Nepal in which the minority ethnic groups are supposed to have suffered a great deal was during the Rana rule. There are more documents than one can probably count at this time relating to the Gurungs' dispute over this division in which the Ranas have invariable ruled that such a division is unfounded and invalid.

The black-and-white photographic illustrations are slightly altered in the order of arrangement and selection from the French edition. They look poorer both in the quality of reproduction and in terms of the coverage of theme. In the French edition, illustrations were gathered under suitable theme titles which one does not find in this book. The preparation of the index is the most listlessly done part of the job, which is in total disregard of the care taken for the same in the French edition. It serves no useful purpose for a serious reader. Notwithstanding it, the great interest the book will arouse in Nepal and the utility it will have for both general and specialized readers can hardly be denied.

– Prayag Raj Sharma

BOOK REVIEW

Nepal Under the Ranas. 1993. Adrian Sever. Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., New Delhi. Pages 506. Price: Not mentioned.

The Rana chapter in Nepalese history is perhaps the most colourful and in many ways the most controversial. The regime that lasted for a hundred and four years tactfully relegated the status and power of the monarchy to that of a mere figurehead with all the external decorum and regalia intact. The role of the king was purely a nominal and honorific one, stripped of all authority and power.

It was basically the bloody event that took place on the night of September 15, 1846, in the courtyard called the Kot where a notorious massacre of noblemen, officers and courtiers suddenly catapulted Bir Narsingh Konwar—later to be known in Nepalese history as Jang Bahadur Rana—into the Prime Minister's seat. The plan had been cleverly worked out and the massacre efficiently conducted. In a single night of Jang Bahadur completely wiped out his enemies, making him the first of the long line of Rana rulers with absolute and unlimited powers in all fields.

This sudden swing in Nepal's political history allowed power to be retained within the Rana family. This was chiefly due to the somewhat unexpected innovation decided upon by Jang Bahadur himself in making the title and functions of the "Prime Minister" hereditary. But the line of succession, instead of going from father to son, was to go to the male descendants of the Rana family according to seniority of age. Only the eldest agnate of the family therefore could succeed to the prime ministership upon the incumbent's death. It was precisely this oligarchical character that solidified Rana rule, thus limiting decision-making powers to a few members of the Rana family for over a hundred years.

Due to the highly centralised power structure, the Rana rulers appeared larger than life: powers of life and death lay in their hands; the wealth they commanded was legendary; and the palaces, durbars and mahals they built for themselves were breathtaking in their grandeur and magnificence. If some proved to be capable soliders and administrators, other were startling essentrics. If some lived by a strong code of honour outmoded elsewhere,

then others were known for their extravagant tastes and retinues of concubines. Ruthless, cruel, capable, depraved, chivalrous or arrogant, the Rana pages of Nepalese history now arouse tremendous interest among scholars, both local and foreign.

There are several publications on different aspects of Rana rule, but the book, *Nepal under the Ranas* is probably the most exhaustive publication in English on the Ranas to date. The book is divided into three main parts: 1) The Rise of the House of Rana; 2) Nepal Under the Ranas; 3) Twilight of the Ranas. It renders a graphic account of Jang Bahadur's rise to power, establishment of Rana rule, internal squabbles for power, technical innovations brought by the Ranas into the country, major developments in foreign relations, the Ranas' relations with the British, Nepal and the two World Wars, the growth of political consciousness, and struggle that finally overthrew the Rana rule. The book is chronological in structure, and besides the detailed depiction of each specific Rana prime ministership it deals vividly with social, political, economic, military, legal, administrative and cultural issues. The result is a definitive history of modern Nepal. The final analysis and assessment of Rana rule that forms the concluding chapter of the volume is a scholarly piece of writing. It will compel scholars, historical analysts and researchers to look at Rana rule in a different light—from the social and political standards of the time.

Maybe the protracted and difficult events that led to the eventual downfall of the regime are still too fresh in Nepalese memory to even remotely consider positive aspects of Rana rule with sufficient objectivity. The volume however lends sufficient weight to the theory that Rana rule may not after all be the period of darkness and oppression it is generally associated with. The contention is that Rana rule may have been viewed from the wrong perspective due to excessive concentration on its last years when power was heavily centralised and the hardline Rana family members were fighting a losing battle against changes that events in the wider field of South Asia had made inevitable. The theory that the latter half of Rana rule was conveniently used by ideologues to promote their own vested interests by labelling the Rana regime as the "dark ages" further supports the need for an objective assessment of the Rana chapter.

Rana foreign policy set by Jang Bahadur and faithfully followed by his successors is one of the main highlights of the book. It clearly and convincingly indicates that alliance with the British was not necessarily a prop to hand onto power at the cost of Nepal's sovereignty and national interest. On the contrary, it preserved Nepal's independence, since reliance on a weak China as a counter to the threat from the south was by then of little value.

The other impact the book is its wealth of rare photographs, some of them taken some hundred years ago and never published before. The two hundred and fifty plus photographs splashed throughout the book on almost every page supplement the text and further enhance the interest and curiosity of the readers. The volume must also be credited for reproducing some century old photographs as closely to the original as possible. It is not at all suprising that the rare photographs helped motivate the author to write the text. The lure of the photographs alone is enough to make you poorer by a couple of hundred rupees.

Though comprehensive, objective, informative and academically sound, the book is not free from factual and typographical errors both in the text and in the photo captions. It is hard to believe that in an otherwise thorough and well researched volume, errors like the kind listed below could occur. Some sampling is given below:

kukri for khukri (p. 39) repreduecd for reproduced (p. 78) constituted for constitute (p. 106) Birna Singh for Bir Narsingh (p. 41) Tandah for Taudah (p. 132) Dev for Devi (p. 137) Khota for Kotha (p. 134) Parthaghat for Patharphatta (p. 176) Rashtriya Panchayat for House of Representatives (p. 289) Maharajadiraj for Maharajadhiraj (p. 301) Padama for Padma (p. 371) Hunuman for Hanuman (p. 385) Sangor for Sagar (p. 469) Diveshwari for Divyeshwari (p. 471) Dharan for Dhana (p. 476) Rakshya Day for Rakshya Dal (p. 402) Newaris for Newars (p. 404) Batta for Bhatta (p. 471)

There are also some errors in the captions of photographs which need to be rectified to clear up misunderstandings. For example, the photograph (p. 100) is of Queen Kirti Divyeshwari, the third wife of King Prithivi Bir and the daughter of Bir Shumsher, not just a lady of high birth. The lady to King Tribhuvan's right (p. 242) is his mother Queen Laxmi Divyeshwari, not Chandra Shumsher's wife as stated. She happens to be on Tribhuvan's left. Prince Basundhara (p. 333) is on King Mahendra's left not the right as stated in the photograph. In the photograph (p. 218) King Prithvi Bir is seated on Dev Shumsher's left and not on the right as wrongly depicted.

There are also other errors in the volume which need looking into if it intends to go into second edition. For example, the names of Pratap Shumsher and Ganesh Man Singh are not mentioned in the Biographical Notes, Appendix 8. Khadga Shumsher was banished to Tansen in Palpa District, not to Doti. Neither does Doti lie in Palpa District. It is rather suprising why Chakra Shumsher, Rudra Shumsher and Mohan Shumsher's names are not mentioned in the Roll of Succession draw up by Bir Shumsher upon his appointment in November 1885, for they are mentioned in the revised Roll of 1887; Keshar Shumsher is Chandra Shumsher's 'A' class son and not 'C' class as mentioned (p. 452). Rudra Shumsher is Bir Shumsher's

'C' class son, not brother (p. 452). Vishnu Shumsher was struck off from the Roll of Succession by Juddha Shumsher, not by Bhim Shumsher (p. 324).

It is also mentioned that the fabulously wealthy meharaja Juddha Shumsher retired as a sanyasi to a town called Ridi in western Nepal. It was not to Ridi but to a nearby place called Arghali in the Palpa district overlooking Ridi and the sacred Kali Gandaki river that he chose to stay for a year before he left for Dehradun in India. While in Arghali he by no means stayed in a "modest tin roofed house." It was in what was commonly known to the locals as the Arghali Durbar, demolished a couple of years ago. Neither did the maharaja retire to a life of prayer and meditation in a strict sense. In his short stay there, he is said to have left behind several illegitimate children to add to his already "one hundred sons and daughters spread all over the length and breath of Nepal" (p. 334). A sentence (p. 362) reads as follows:

"Several of the Praja Parishad's founder members it will be recalled, had been executed by Padam Shumsher, and Ganesh Man Singh had escaped the death penalty only because he was a Brahmin." As a matter of fact, it was Juddha Shumsher who ordered the execution the fiery revolutionary Ganesh Man Singh who is certainly not a Brahmin, but a full blooded Newar! To say that he escaped the death penalty because he was a "Brahmin" is to do him gross injustice and to greatly undermine his courage and determination with which he faced the much dreaded Rana rulers during the freedom struggle. The author seems to have relied too heavily on the information provided in *Who's who of Nepalese Revolutionary Politics* (p. 366). It must also be noted that Vijaya Shumsher is the son of Mohan Shumsher and not of Baber Shumsher as shown in the genealogy of the Rana family (p. 425).

Besides these shortcomings the book is remarkable as a goldmine of information for scholars, students and researchers seeking information on various aspects of Rana rule. A set of appendices at the end provides a wealth of historical data, and especially Appendix 3 of the Shah Rana matrimonial connections is valuable, considering the present state of Nepalese historiography.

—Ananda P. Shrestha

Notes to Contributors

Manuscripts should be typed double-space on A4 paper with a 4 cm margin on all four sides. The top copy should be submitted and photo/carbon copy retained by the author. The author should underline nothing except words which are to be italicised. Notes and references should be typed double-spaced on separate pages and will be included at the end of the article. The text should refer to notes numbered consecutively throughout the article, using raised numbers; bibliographical references should be cited in the text by the author's last name, date of publication, and page number, e.g., (Bista 1965:105) or if the author's name is mentioned in the text, by the date and page reference only, (1965:105). Entries in the references should be in alphabetical and chronological order of authors. They should include the details in the following order: name of the author (s)—surname first, date, title, name of the periodical, volume number (Arabic numerals to be used throughout), pagination (for articles in periodicals and books with several authors), place of publication (and name of the publisher for a book). Examples of the style to be used are as follows:

Bista, D.B. 1965. *People of Nepal*. Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar

Dhungel, Basundhara. 1980. "The Newars." In Sudha Paneru (ed.), *Traditional and Prevailing Child-Rearing Practices Among Different Communities in Nepal*. Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan university, pp. 31-53

Shrestha, Ananda. 1979. "Error Analysis." *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 6:2, pp. 1-9.

Shrestha, Ramesh. 1977. "Adult Literacy in Nepal: a Report." Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University. Mimeographed.

Stone, Linda. 1977. "Illness, Hierarchy and Food Symbolism Hindu Nepal." Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis. Brown University.

Tables should be submitted on separate pages, numbered and with headings. Maps and text figures should be drawn in black waterproof ink about twice the intended final size, with lettering in soft pencil. Notations in the text should indicate where these are to appear. Plates should not be less than intended final size. They should be printed on glossy paper. They should be titled and numbered.